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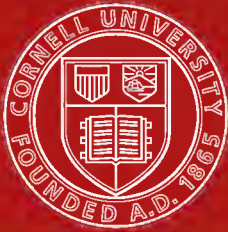
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INTERNATIONAL LABOUR OFFICE

LABOUR CONDITIONS

IN

SOVIET RUSSIA

SYSTEMATIC QUESTIONNAIRE
AND BIBLIOGRAPHY

PREPARED FOR THE MISSION
OF ENQUIRY IN RUSSIA.

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PREFACE.

The following notes are no more than a systematic questionnaire for the use of the members of the Commission of Inquiry, which the International Labour Office proposes to send to Russia. What is more, the questionnaire is but an improvisation ; the information it contains was collected, and its chapters were written in a very short space of time.

In spite of this, we have decided to publish it.

It may be thought that an organisation like the International Labour Office should, in its own interests, issue no work that was not perfect, at least amongst its first publications ; but as its object has been to produce a Report of immediate utility, we may consider this publication justified if it can help any of those who enter Russia in any capacity whatsoever during the coming months as well as any who may contribute directly or indirectly to the perplexing study of the Soviet System.

We must, however, put the reader on his guard by telling him frankly how what follows was written, and what our immediate object was in writing it.

What, in the first place, is the real aim of the Inquiry undertaken by the International Labour Office ?

At the Meeting of the Governing Body in January, 1920, the International Labour Office was faced with the prospect of an Inquiry which was proposed by M. Sokal, Polish Government Delegate on the Governing Body. It ran as follows :

“ That a Commission should be appointed including representatives of Trade Unions and Employers, to

study the industrial conditions and the situation of the working classes in certain Eastern European countries, and in particular in Soviet Russia."

This proposal at once gave rise to lively discussion. Some of the members of the Governing Body shrank from the idea that the Office should at the beginning of its existence embark on an enterprise which was not without inconvenience and danger. Other members, on the other hand, asked very earnestly that the inquiry should be undertaken. The Workers' delegates in particular laid stress on the following consideration :

" There is at present amongst the working classes as a whole a grave unrest which is due to a great extent to our complete ignorance of what is happening in Russia. Some people go about saying that everything is perfect, and on these the mirage of the Bolshevik Paradise exercises a fascination all the more powerful from the fact that the workers are suffering more and more from the economic and social disorder caused by the war. Others, on the contrary, launch accusation after accusation against the Soviet *régime*, and moderate opinion trembles at the very thought of even the most legitimate reforms. This unrest will vanish only if we try to discover the truth about labour conditions, and the situation of the working classes in Revolutionary Russia."

Impressed by these arguments, but fully realising the difficulties involved in such an inquiry, the Governing Body finally adopted in January the following resolution :

" Whereas the preceding motion would require a certain amount of preparatory work by the Labour Office, it is resolved that the Governing Body will consider that motion and come to a decision upon it

at its next Session after having received a report from the Director of the International Labour Office. This report will contain a detailed programme of the proposed inquiry and will deal with the possibilities of carrying it out."

This is not the place to describe how the Director by virtue of the Mission which this resolution had entrusted to him set himself to study "the possibilities of carrying it out." But during his negotiations on the problem with the Supreme Allied Council or with the League of Nations, he found himself forced to define with precision the character and limits of the inquiry proposed by this Office.

It is common knowledge that in February the Supreme Council considered the question of sending a Commission of Inquiry to Russia. On this occasion the Director reminded the Supreme Council of the resolution adopted by the Governing Body in January.

The Council considered (as was explained in Mr. Lloyd George's letter of 24 February to the Director of the International Labour Office) that an inquiry to Russia "would be invested with even greater authority and with superior chances of success if it were made upon the authority and conducted under the supervision of the Council of the League of Nations itself." The Council therefore invited the League of Nations to act on these lines.

The inquiry, which the heads of the Governments considered, from their point of view, indispensable, was thus to have a political tone or at least to effect results which would be clearly political.

From that moment it became important to define clearly the basis of the inquiry proposed by the Labour Office in relation to the other inquiry entrusted to the League of Nations. This was discussed at the meetings of the Executive Council of the League of Nations on 12 and 13 March.

The Resolution adopted on that day by the Executive Council, after the Director had defined the position of the International Labour Office and the peculiar and independent character of its inquiry, was as follows :

“ As regards the proposal of the International Labour Office mentioned in the letter of the President of the Supreme Council, the Council of the League of Nations, taking into consideration the terms of Part XIII of the Versailles Treaty, esteems that it falls more particularly within the scope of the International Labour Office to make an inquiry on the questions referred to in the preamble of this Part of the Treaty.*

* The stipulations of Part XIII of the Versailles Treaty, to which reference is made in the Resolution, are contained in the Preamble of this Part XIII, which contains the following enumeration of the questions which concern the International Labour Office :

“ Whereas conditions of labour exist involving such injustice, hardship and privation to large numbers of people as to produce unrest so great that the peace and harmony of the world are imperilled : and an improvement of those conditions is urgently required : as, for example, by the regulation of the hours of work, including the establishment of a maximum working day and week, the regulation of the labour supply, the prevention of unemployment, the provision of an adequate living wage, the protection of the worker against sickness, disease and injury arising out of his employment, the protection of children, young persons and women, provision for old age and injury, protection of the interests of workers when employed in countries other than their own, recognition of the principle of freedom of association, the organisation of vocational and technical education and other measures ;

“ Whereas also the failure of any nation to adopt humane conditions of labour is an obstacle in the way of other nations which desire to improve the conditions in their own countries :

“ The High Contracting Parties, moved by sentiments of justice and humanity, as well as by the desire to secure the permanent peace of the world, agree to the following”

The Governing Body of the Labour Office, availing itself of the powers conferred on it by the Treaty, may thus send a Commission to Russia if it thinks fit to make a special inquiry on labour problems.

But the Council of the League of Nations considers it essential to establish co-operation between these various investigations, as labour problems cannot be detached from a general inquiry into present conditions in Russia.

This co-operation will be secured by the two members, one an employer and the other a worker, referred to already; they will be appointed at the Commission of General Inquiry on the suggestion of the Labour Office.

The Council of the League of Nations expresses the hope that these two delegates may also be members of the Labour Office's Commission of Inquiry."

Thus was precisely defined the scope of the International Labour Office's Inquiry, should the Governing Body, in accordance with the January proposal still on its agenda, finally decide to send one.

At this meeting on 22 March, the Governing Body did actually decide to adopt the proposal of an inquiry in Russia. It also settled the composition of the Mission and by doing so, marked clearly the special character it desired to stamp upon it.

It agreed to nominate two members—one an employer and the other a worker—to join the Mission of the League of Nations. But in order to emphasise the fact that the International Labour Office could not directly or indirectly identify itself with any political action, it declared itself unable to meet the desire expressed by the Council of the League at the end of its resolution, and refused to include among the members of its own mission those whom it had nominated for inquiry of the League of Nations.

In order, on the other hand, to show clearly that its inquiry was to be wholly objective and absolutely impartial, it decided that its own commission should be composed as follows :

Five employers, 5 workers and 2 Government delegates. By this arrangement they proved their desire to make a serious and unprejudiced effort to discover the truth.

This was the spirit which inspired the International Labour Office in its preliminary investigations and its preparation, in the words of the resolution, of a "detailed programme of the inquiry."

As soon as the Governing Body's resolution was adopted, Dr. Pardo, one of the first members of the office staff, was instructed to get together at once all the documentary evidence available in Western Europe. The fullest and most systematic research work was undertaken in Paris and in London. Supplementary investigations were made in Switzerland, Sweden, Italy and Germany. The results of this work, performed in haste between 10 February and 10 March, have supplied the material for the present report.

All those who took part in these hasty researches were given the accompanying questionnaire, which we reproduce in order to show under what conditions and with what aim the work has been undertaken.

QUESTIONNAIRE.

STATE CONTROL FOR THE PROTECTION OF THE WORKERS.

Labour Legislation.

(A)—General Questions.

How is the legal protection of workers organised in Soviet Russia, both in nationalised and private industries ?

(B)—Working Hours.

What are the legislative or regulative provisions for working hours ?

What is the length of the working day ?

What is the rest-period during the working day ?

Is overtime worked ? If so, how much ?

Is overtime voluntary ?

Statistics *re* time worked in the different industries in 1919.

(C)—Wages.

How are wages fixed in different concerns ? By law, by a district or local authority, or by voluntary agreement between the parties concerned ?

What is the scale of wages in the different industries ?

How are wages paid ? In currency ? In kind ? By piece work ? Daily ? Weekly ?

What is the purchasing power of wages in each industry and for each category of workers ?

Is there a minimum wage ?

Are women paid the same wage as men ?

What are children's wages ?

Statistical data on wages in different industries ?

(D)—Female and Child Labour.

What are the legislative measures on Female and Child Labour? Industries in which such labour is prohibited? Statistics on the number of women employed in the different industries. At what age are children allowed to begin work? In which industries, etc.? Statistics of children employed in different industries.

(E)—Dangerous and Unhealthy Industries, etc.

What measures have been taken for the protection of workers in industries which are dangerous, unhealthy or simply fatiguing?

What industries are considered so in Russia?

Give the principal provisions *re* mining.

What are the measures imposed for general hygiene in workshops?

What legislation is there for the safety of workers?

(F)—Unemployment.

What measures have been taken to protect the workers against unemployment?

Do Public Employment Bureaux exist? Or private ones? Is there a national or district organisation? Or a local one?

Are employment bureaux free?

Unemployment figures for 1919.

(G)—Home-Work.

State whether there are special provisions for homework.

If so, describe them?

State whether home-work is subject to State inspection or control: describe this inspection or control.

Show the importance of home-work in Russia and examine whether this importance has increased or diminished during the last two years.

Present state of home-work in Russia.

(H)—Labour Inspection.

How is labour inspection organised?

Collect all details on its value and efficiency.

Appendix to Chapter I.

In answering the above questions, the investigator should be careful :

1. To distinguish in his replies between nationalised and non-nationalised industries.
2. To quote the laws and regulations for the protection of workers, and any successive modifications made in them, as well as the most recent tendencies shown in legislation.
3. To indicate the competent legislative and regulative authorities in this matter.
4. To indicate the organisations competent to decide disputes concerning the protection of workers.
5. It is particularly necessary to compare legislation with reality, to try to ascertain how far the law has been applied: what has been the result of its application, and to show clearly the opinions pronounced on it both by Bolsheviks and their adversaries.
6. To verify as far as possible analogies with other European countries in the modifications introduced under the pressure of various events like war, famine, etc., in the application of the laws for the protection of the workers.

II—SOCIAL WELFARE.

(A)—General Questions.

How is Social Welfare organised in Soviet Russia, especially in regard to :

- (a) Work accidents.
- (b) Sick indemnities.
- (c) Insurance against invalidity.
- (d) Old age pensions.
- (e) Unemployment relief and unemployment insurance.

On whose initiative ? That of the State or public or private associations ?

What compensation is given in cases of accident occurring at work, unemployment or sickness ? What workers' pensions are there ?

Are workers and masters liable to compulsory contribution ?

(B)—Financial organisation.

Describe the financial organisation created by the State to provide for Social Welfare. Is there a National Fund ? How does it function ? Are the funds furnished by the State ? Entirely or partly ?

(C)—Private initiative in social welfare.

In default of State action, have private corporations trade unions and the masters organised social welfare ?

If so, give the number, importance and working of these private institutions.

What is the attitude of the State towards these associations ?

(D)—Social Statistics.

Statistics as to accidents occurring at work, the relief granted on account of such accidents, illness, and unemployment ; old age pensions, etc.

Appendix to Chapter II.

Examination of the questions in Chapter II should show :

1. The text of the laws and regulations on Social Welfare, their successive modifications and the most recent legislative tendencies in this matter.
2. The authorities responsible for the application of the laws and regulations and those competent to settle disputes about them.

Here again legislation should be compared with reality.

Indicate how far the laws have been really applied and what results have been obtained : the real economic position of the worker who falls a victim to an accident at his work or to unemployment, as well as of workers incapacitated through sickness or old age : note all criticisms, Bolshevik or anti-Bolshevik, of the measures taken in the matter of social welfare.

III—FREEDOM OF LABOUR.

(A)—*Contracts.*

Has the worker the right to work where he chooses ?

Has he a free choice of the trade he desires to follow and of the locality where he wishes to work ?

Has he the right to break a contract ?

In the case of an affirmative answer to the above questions, are exceptions made ? If so, what are these exceptions ?

(B)—*Compulsory Labour.*

Can the State compel a man to work ?

If so, in what cases ? In which industries ? Under what conditions ?

(C)—*Collective Agreements.*

Are collective agreements permitted ? If so, in what measure, and in what industries ? Under what conditions ?

Statistics on collective agreements.

Do any of the old labour associations (artels, etc.) survive under the new régime ?

(D)—*Right to Strike.*

Does the right to strike exist ? If so, to what extent ? Under what conditions ? In which industries ?

Does it exist for the public services ?

Statistics on strikes during 1919.

(E)—Penalties.

What are the penalties laid down for the violation of a work contract ?

For refusal to work ?

For strikes ?

Appendix to Chapter III.

We must lay special stress on the question of compulsory labour as this dominates all this part of the questionnaire and characterises the Bolshevik régime.

It is essential :

1. To collect all the facts on the means employed to establish compulsory labour, with all criticisms made on this subject by both the Bolsheviks and their opponents.
2. To give an account of the whole Bolshevik doctrine for the establishment of compulsory labour. Is this a revolutionary scheme to defeat the bourgeoisie, or is it the very base of the Bolshevik conception of the economic and social system ?
3. To compare legislation with achievement and show how far the laws have been applied and with what result.

The following particulars should also be given :

1. Laws and regulations on freedom of labour with their successive modifications and, if possible, any new Bills or proposed measures on this subject.
2. The competent legislative and regulative authorities.
3. The authorities responsible for the application of these laws or regulations.
4. The organisations competent to decide disputes on the subjects of freedom of labour.

IV.—LIBERTY OF ASSOCIATION—TRADE UNIONS.

(A)—The formation of Associations.

Has the worker the right to form associations freely for the protection of his own interests? Is this right extended to all classes or only to some? In the latter case, to which?

Is it necessary to belong to a political party to be eligible for membership of an association?

How may such associations be formed? What formalities must be observed?

Must a union be recognised by a competent authority before it can function?

Is a worker obliged to join a trade union, or any union at all, before he can get work? Or for any other purposes?

(B)—Control of Unions.

What control is exercised over existing trade unions and by what State organ?

(C)—Organisation and working of Unions.

Once formed, is a union entirely free to settle its own internal organisation? If not, how far is this right limited? What limits are imposed on the actions of trade unions in regard to their members, industrial enterprises or the State?

(D)—Federations of Unions.

Have trade unions the right to combine freely in district, national or international associations? If not, how far is this right limited?

(E)—Position of Unions in the State.

What is the legal and economic status of trade unions in the State ?

What is their rôle ?

Do they form part of the aggregate of the Soviet State institutions ? If so, what is their function ?

(F)—Penalties.

What are the general penalties provided for against trade unions ?

What State organisations are responsible for applying these penalties ?

Appendix to Chapter IV.

Collect all facts concerning the history of Russian Unions from the beginning of the Soviet régime up to the date of this inquiry.

Explain the Bolshevik doctrine as regards the position of trade unions in the State, and name the leaders of the trade union movement in Soviet Russia.

Describe in detail the internal organisation of the unions as regards the rights and obligations of their members. Is it true that there are no subscriptions or registration of members ? Or, on the contrary, are the same rules applied as in democratic countries ?

Give also the following particulars :

1. Laws and regulations on the trade unions with their successive modifications.
2. The competent legislative and regulative authorities.
3. The authorities competent to apply such laws and regulations.
4. The organisations competent to settle disputes in trade union matters.

V.—RELATIONS BETWEEN THE STATE AND INDUSTRY.

(A)—Organisation of Industry.

How has the State organised industry ?

Is industry free ? Entirely or partially ?

If industry is not free, to what extent has the State nationalised it ? Which professions, trades, or enterprises, or is a whole branch of industry included ?

What is the employer's position ?

(B)—State Control.

How does the State exercise control over nationalised industries ?

Within what limitations ? By what machinery ?

(C)—Administrative and Technical Staffs.

What is the legal, economic and actual position of the administrative and technical staffs of nationalised enterprises ? And in non-nationalised concerns ?

(D)—Workers.

What is the legal, economic, and actual position of workers in nationalised and non-nationalised enterprises ?

(E)—Employers.

What is the legal, economic, etc. position of the employers in non-nationalised undertakings ?

(F)—Control of non-nationalised industries.

If there are any non-nationalised industries, what control is exercised over them by the State, and how ?

Are there any co-operative societies for production ? If so, give particulars of their number, importance and working.

Appendix to Chapter V.

1. Indicate the laws or regulations concerning free and nationalised industries and their successive modifications.

2. Indicate the competent legislative or regulative authorities in this matter and the State organisations responsible for applying these laws or regulations.

3. Indicate the authorities competent to settle disputes between the administrative and technical staff on the one hand and the workers on the other :—

(a) In free industries.

(b) In nationalised industries.

4. Show what enterprises existed at the beginning of the Bolshevik régime, those which have ceased to exist and why. Name the new enterprises established during the Bolshevik régime. State whether such new enterprises are nationalised or not.

Collect not only laws but facts.

What remains of the great initial effort ?

Collect all documents on the rôle of technical staff and employers. Indicate on this point any modifications in the ideas of the leaders.

Give all possible industrial statistics, with the number of large, medium and small concerns.

Note especially whether small industries adapt themselves to the Bolshevik régime better than large ones.

Are there any signs of the formation of a middle class ?

VI.—MATERIAL SITUATION OF THE WORKING CLASSES.

Collect all available particulars on the material situation of the working classes, especially on the following points :—

(A)—Provisioning.

What system has the State organised to feed the population ?

Are the working classes privileged ? If so, to what extent ? How ?

What privileges are granted to the Red guards ?

Does private traffic in food exist ? If so, to what extent ?

(B)—Co-operatives.

What has been the State action in regard to co-operatives ?

What limit has been finally put to the Co-operatives' liberty of production and commerce ?

Are they subjected to a special system ?

What is the position of the technical administrative and working staff of the co-operatives ?

Give the laws and regulations, with their modifications, which apply to the co-operatives : State the authorities responsible for applying these laws and regulations : And collect all data on the number of co-operatives, their economic position, their development, etc.

(C)—Housing.

Examine as a whole the measures taken by the Bolsheviks to improve the housing of the working classes.

Indicate the laws and regulations, with their successive modifications, on the requisitioning of dwellings, noting especially how far these laws have been applied and with what results.

Collect all available particulars of the actual position of workers in regard to the housing question.

(D)—Hygiene.

Examine as a whole the measures taken by the Bolsheviks to improve the hygiene of the working classes.

Is there a State medical service ?

If so, how far is it accessible to the working classes. What provisions have been made to facilitate for the workers the use of hospitals, crèches, etc ?

(E)—Education.

Examine as a whole the measures taken by the Soviet Government to improve the education of the working classes.

Collect particulars on special technical schools. Give the laws and regulations on this matter, with their successive modifications, as well as all facts permitting us to judge how far these laws and regulations have been applied, and with what results.

VII.—AGRICULTURAL WORK.**(A)—Agrarian Reforms.**

What changes have been introduced by the Soviet Government into the system of agricultural property ?

Have the large estates been divided up ? If so, to what extent ? And by what means ?

What effect has State action had on agricultural property ? Has private property disappeared, or, on the contrary, has a middle class of small peasant proprietors been created ?

Give the laws and regulations, with their successive modifications, on landed property, as well as the application of these laws and the actual results of Bolshevik legislation on this matter.

Collect statements made in speeches, letters, etc., by Bolshevik *leaders* on the theoretical conception of landed property in the Bolshevik State.

(B)—Agricultural Wages.

What has been the State action in regard to agricultural wages ?

Are there special laws and regulations for agricultural wage-earners ?

If so, what are they ?

Statistics of agricultural wage-earners.

Collect full particulars of the material and moral positions of agricultural workers, and show how far the laws on social

welfare and the protection of workers have been applied to them.

(C)—*Relations between Workers and Peasants.*

Define as clearly as possible the relations created between the workers and the peasants as a result of the economic policy of the Soviet State.

Describe the system adopted for the requisition of agricultural produce (wheat, etc.) and the measures introduced to ensure the feeding of the workers.

Show the material result of the provisioning policy followed by the Soviet State (especially as regards coercive measures against the peasants-provisioning expeditions, etc.).

VIII.—MATERIAL RESULTS OF THE BOLSHEVIK RÉGIME.

Collect the principal statistics on industrial production in Russia during the years 1918 and 1919. Make a table of the production of mines and nationalised industries as well as of the principal agricultural products.

In showing a decrease in production of any given commodity, distinguish as far as possible whether the reduction is caused by the war or by the application of Bolshevik economic doctrines.

IX.—MORAL RESULTS.

After two years of trial what are, in general, the moral results obtained by the Bolshevik régime ?

What is the feeling of the working masses towards it ?

Is the new system still winning over fresh adherents from these masses ?

Or is there, on the other hand, a growing discontent or the expression of increasing disillusion with the result of the system ?

Appendix to Chapter IX.

It goes without saying that we are simply asking our collaborators to record accurately without personal bias the expression of opinion or facts likely to throw light on this perplexing problem.

But it would be unscientific and wrong not to use so full an inquiry as ours for an impartial judgment of the results and of the impression produced on the population directly affected. *On this point only we insist, that we want nothing but a record of facts.*

We think, however, that it would be helpful if our collaborators noted at the same time under this heading everything likely to assist us in solving the question of doctrine involved in the development of the Soviet System.

Are they carrying out a system of unrestrained Communism? Or have they been drawn to a Jacobin centralisation of public authority?

Here again we are asking, in this inquiry, simply for *a record of the full facts*, as well as opinions, of Bolsheviks or their enemies on this general aspect of the system.

We consider this questionnaire as in full conformity with the character of the missions with which this office may be entrusted.

Besides the psychological and social motives which have inspired Mr. Sokal's proposal and persuaded the workers to support it, the Office is bound not only by necessity but in duty to ascertain the real labour conditions in Russia. Not only is this knowledge indispensable to it for the direction and regulation of its efforts to develop and establish international labour legislation, but this very international legislation cannot be wholly effective until it is universal. If Russia continues to stand out, the essential work of the Permanent Labour Organisation cannot possibly be complete.

In this questionnaire our collaborators have put together and classified particulars from the various scattered documents which were likely more or less to satisfy our desire for information. Their first few weeks' researches and preliminary critical work led them to frame a series of fresh questions which, by their precision as well as their distressing significance, will certainly be a guide for the Members of the Inquiry.

It is just because these problems must in our opinion at once rivet the attention of all men of good will who are trying to understand or penetrate the mystery of Soviet Russia that we have refused to wait for the full detailed reports of our "missioners," but instead to publish the present report in spite of all the imperfections which we feel it contains, the gaps in it which we have not had time to fill in, and the mistakes which, for all our care, may have crept into such hurried work.

Besides the fact that in its present form this is perhaps the most complete study that exists from the bibliographical point of view and the most coherent from the point of view of social legislation on the Bolshevik régime, we have thought it would be useful

to make known publicly the exact problems with which its chapters deal. While they are waiting for a Marco Polo of social legislation to bring back as yet unpublished information about these countries shrouded for us in as deep mystery as Cathay or Zipango must have been to the folk of the Middle Ages, thoughtful men, can, if only for their own edification, ponder the social problems which in Russia have perhaps been created either by human will or the implacable sequence of events.

Perusal of the work of Dr. Pardo and his collaborators will be enough to show how new and how acute these problems are.

Take the question of the working day : in the first months of their Government the Soviets introduced legislation which seems well drawn up and well considered with due exceptions and allowances for the passing from one system to another—legislation which reminds one at times of that essential refinement of perfection which the Russians used to strive for in their technical works and in their industrial organisations. But what sequence of events, what development of thought, what overmastering social motives induced them to establish Communist Saturdays, 10 and 12 hour days and the quest for greater intensity of production? That is the problem to be solved. Very strange clues have come to light. What are they worth?

So, too, it will be interesting to ascertain at once with what subtlety and understanding of the problem's complexity the leaders of Bolshevik thought have tried to establish a rational code for salaries. The problem is, above all, how to apply the laws. How have they dealt with it?

Again, it appears from our collaborators' investigation that their legislation for female and child labour agrees on nearly every point with the Washington

conventions. But, we must ask once more, how far has this legislation been applied, or rather what chance of application has it had ?

The Bolsheviks have won further popularity with the working masses of the Western democracies by spreading the idea of compulsory work for all. This they proclaimed, at the very beginning of their revolution, as their fundamental principle. They have said and said again : " He who does not produce shall not eat." But having used this formula to justify a new kind of revolutionary reign of terror against the bourgeoisie, was not the only practical realisation of this oft-repeated principle of compulsion to be found in the use and remobilisation of the Red Army for labour ? And was not that which was formerly presented as an application of perfect communism really a renewal of the old traditional Jacobinism ?

In reply to the questionings of Western theorists, the Bolsheviks declare that the Trade Unions, the Co-operatives, and in a word all the Workers' Organisations in which the socialists and reformers of Europe have placed their entire confidence, are " part of the whole Soviet institution." Their legislation does, indeed, support this. But is it not true that at times there have been attempts at a general strike of the trade unions in protest against the domination of the Peoples' Commissaries ? And is it not also true that at the very moment when the Peoples' Commissaries are declaring that no Co-operatives could exist outside the regular organisation of the Soviet Republic, the old Russian Co-operators, founders of these organisations, are protesting against the attacks on their liberty of Co-operation ? What is the truth of the matter ? Or rather, where lies its reality ?

Other problems there are as well : such as, what exactly is the democratic organisation of Russia ? What becomes of the Trade Union under the Soviet ?

And again, how does a Russian trade union compare with an English or a French one ?

And finally, to be brief, what a strange light is thrown over the domain of ideas and facts of the Russian Revolution by the simple grouping of some fragmentary notes in the two chapters on "Nationalisation" and "The Material Results of Nationalisation !" Spontaneous organisation of "workers" control ; instinctive efforts towards the immediate appropriation of the means of production scarcely to be distinguished from the mass seizure advocated by some theorists ; then organisation, regulation through the Unions ; safeguarding of the means of production by a policy of State nationalisation which is opposed to these instinctive efforts ; the opposition of collective interests, opposition from the central state organisation to the idea of the factory for its workers, the mine for the miners, the railways for the railwaymen ; gradual creation of regular administrative organisations ; in all these phases of a few years—a few months—there is an entire history. Will the first inquirers be able even to outline it ? And yet, for the future welfare of other countries, it is essential that it should be known.

The work of Dr. Pardo and his collaborators does not yet give us answers to any of these questions. But it has at least the merit of propounding some of them with complete precision. That, in itself, is enough to justify the International Labour Office for not having left this work to its own investigators, but rather offered it as a modest help in their work to men of science, to workers and employers anxious for the future or simply to the inquiring in search of knowledge.

ALBERT THOMAS,
Director.

CHAPTER I.

HOURS OF WORK.

I.—LEGISLATION.

Proclamation of the Principle of the Eight-Hour Day

Provisions concerning hours of work are contained in an Order of 29 October/19 November, 1917 (published in the "Izvestia" of 31 October, 1917, No. 212).

By clause 3 of this Order: "The hours of work prescribed by the regulations for the management of industrial undertakings must not exceed 8 per day or 48 per week, including the time spent on the upkeep of machinery and the maintenance of the premises in good order."

This provision applies (clause 1): "To all industrial undertakings and enterprises whatever their importance and whoever their owners may be, as also to all persons employed in them."

The period of work is defined in clause 2: "By period of work or number of hours of work is meant that period during which, by the terms on which he was taken on, the worker must be present in the factory or in the yard, at the service of the manager for such work as he may be called upon to do."

Exceptions are admitted as follows: By clause 14: "The Supreme Council of industrial and mining affairs (or the organisation representing it) has the right to issue regulations admitting, in urgent cases, certain exceptions to the rules laid down in clauses 3, 5 and 8 for industrial undertakings, the proper working of which, bound up with the interests of the community,

necessitates night-work or fluctuating intensity of effort according to the time of year (for instance, artificial lighting and waterworks in towns)."

Again by clause 17: "Exceptions may be made to the enactments of clauses 3, 5, 8 and 12, with the consent of the workers and the approval of their trade unions, as regards workers employed in auxiliary duties, such as running repairs, the upkeep of boilers, engines and connecting-rods, the heating of factories, the lighting of premises, their safeguarding by watchmen and fire-posts, and in general all forms of employment which, if not preliminarily carried out, would prevent the starting of work at the proper time, as well as all those duties which cannot be performed until the main work of the day has stopped."

Suspension of Work.

The Order also fixes, in clause 4, the time for which work is to be suspended: "Six hours at the most after work has been started, it must be broken off to allow the worker to rest and take food. The length of this interval must not be less than one hour."

Each individual business is responsible for settling by its own regulations the time-table of this suspension of work.

But "no suspension of work takes place in cases where a stoppage is technically impracticable."

Weekly Rest—Holidays.

Several clauses are devoted to the question of rest on Sundays and holidays (clauses 11, 12 and 13).

Work in Mines.

Clause 1, sentence 1, lays down that: "In work underground, the time spent in going down and coming up again is considered as work-time."

Local Application of the Law on the Eight-Hour Day.

In application of this law, an Order of the District Commissariat of Labour on the normal period of rest for workers in commercial and industrial undertakings, in public and government institutions in the city of Petrograd and its neighbourhood ("Petrogradskaia Pravda" of 24 September, 1918) prescribes (clause 1): "In all commercial and industrial undertakings without exception and in all branches of wage-earning work on the premises of individuals, the maximum length of the employee's working-day is fixed at 8 hours; for office-work it is fixed at 6 hours. But if a shorter period has been established through exceptional circumstances, this period may not be altered without the consent of the trade unions concerned."

Other Orders by local authorities have presumably dealt with this question, but we have been unable to secure information about them.

New Labour Code of 1919.

The general principle of the 8-hour working day is further proclaimed by the Russian Labour Code of 1919, which, in clause 84, says: "The length of the working day must not exceed 8 hours during the day or 7 hours during the night."

This Code also regulates, in clause 88, the period of the suspension of work, which period is, by its provisions, not included in the hours of work.

Clauses 89 and 90 contain other enactments on the same subject as well as on that of the weekly rest and holidays.

Overtime.

By the Order of 1 October, 1917 (clause 18), the Commissary or Inspector of Labour may respectively authorise overtime in the exceptional cases mentioned

in clause 19, letters *a*, *b*, *c* and *d* (work which cannot be put off, imminent danger, urgent repairs, work caused by any unforeseen accident). But (clause 19, para. 1) women and young people under 18 years of age may not do overtime, and, in no case (clauses 22 and 23), may the total number of extra hours worked exceed 50 days per year for each section of the factory or "4 hours during two periods of 24 hours" for each worker.

However, by clause 24: "The application of the regulations for overtime and suspensions of work may be deferred till the end of hostilities *by agreement with the workers of the undertaking concerned and their trade unions.*"

These enactments are confirmed by the Labour Code of 1919 (clauses 93-102).

Two novel and important exceptions to the general rule which safeguards the working of overtime should, however, be noted.

The first of these exceptions is drafted as follows (clause 94, letter *a*): "For all work necessary to prevent any danger or public disaster threatening the existence of the Soviet Government of the Federate Soviet Republic or the lives of its citizens."

The second deals with the following cases (clause 94, letter *b*): "For the proper carrying-out of essential public works dealing with water-supply, lighting, sewers and transport, and for any unexpected eventuality affecting these services."

When it is a question of work which cannot be postponed, the consent of the trade union concerned is necessary (clause 95).

II.—APPLICATION OF THE LAW.

Statistics of Working Hours.

We have no official or reliable figures of the number of normal or supplementary working hours applied in the various industries in Russia.

On the other hand it is certain, according to the statements of several Commissars, that, in the early days at any rate, the working time-table was very irregular in the various factories, everything depending on the fickle will of the workers' Congresses of Control. But the necessity to increase production is driving the Russian Government to experiment with various systems tending to increase the amount of labour applied to industry.

Voluntary Work.

We know that during the latter half of 1919 was inaugurated the system of *voluntary or Saturday work* (in some cases Sunday work also).

We do not know in detail how this work was organised or paid for ; but the fact of its existence is reported from various sources.

Thus the "Periodical Russian Press Bulletin" of November 1919 says :

"According to various particulars given in the papers, extra work is done on Saturdays by Communists and non-party workers of their own free will.

"In the second district (rayon) of Petrograd, work has been done on the last 6 Saturdays by 8,158 men, of whom 1,600 were non-party. They off-loaded : 2,000 tons of wood, 2,500 poods of peat, 18 trucks of sand, the whole of this work representing a total value of 314,700 roubles."

Alexeiev reports in the "Krasnaia Gazeta" of the 9th that intellectuals have joined in this Saturday work on the island of Kanoper, where 90 men working together off-loaded and stacked 370 tons of wood in 4 hours.

The "Izvestia" of Moscow of 16 October gives details of these *Saturday workers* of October 4. On the Volga wharf at Pokrovsk 26 trucks were off-loaded and 4 loaded. In the military works 4 hours' overtime were put in. At Samara 215 men of the Railway Transport Section, most of them non-party workers, worked through the Communist Saturday (October 4), and loaded and off-loaded 8 trucks and 200 tons of wood.

This movement developed greatly towards the end of 1919.

The Bolshevik wireless, particularly since the end of 1919, has on several occasions mentioned these working *Saturdays*. Here are some of these wireless messages:

The Week in Aid of those at the Front and with the Transport.—The "Pravda" devotes an article to the railwaymen, explaining to them the necessity of greater efforts to bring railway transport back to its normal efficiency. If the railways work as they should, we shall have co-operation and our factories will carry on: that is why we must take energetic measures to apply our whole force to this end.

Loyal workers on the railways must do all they can to support the Front. This magnificent revolutionary organisation of all right-minded workers must help us to solve this transport crisis. (Wireless message, 15.1.20.)

The "Cleanliness" Week.—Tambow. On 15 January the "Cleanliness" week began. The dirtiest premises, hospitals, asylums and prisons were disinfected. Soap was distributed to the population. Lectures were

given in various quarters of the town. (Wireless message, 16.1.20.)

Labour and the Soviet Government.—Ever since Kameniev solemnly and publicly declared the proletariat victorious on the fighting fronts, though yet obliged to continue the struggle within its frontiers for the supply of fuel and for work, the whole Soviet Press has redoubled its campaign to intensify production.

A special heading is devoted to the labour front, the struggle against disorganisation and idleness, the struggle against war and capitalism.

Thus, the Soviet Government, delivered though but in part from external warfare, is straightway devoting itself to its true task of economic organisation, the intensifying of production and the country's enrichment. In a series of meetings held yesterday in Moscow, various speakers told of the needs of the armies at the front and all the future victories for labour that the proletariat must win. (Wireless message, 16.1.20.)

Communist Saturdays.—Ekaterinburg. 3.2. At the last Saturday organised by the Communists, 150 students of the lectures at the Communist School off-loaded in three hours 5 trucks of wheels(?), 6 of grain, and 5 of wood.

10.2.20. The Communist Saturdays are developing and are given up to the repair of rolling stock. The Soviet Congress of the district of Vladimir has passed a resolution demanding from every man his utmost efforts to combat the economic and transport crisis. At Oufa the Executive Committee has decided to undertake at once the formation of a battalion of the labour army. At Omsk and in the ports of the Ienissei barges are being feverishly got ready for future sailings. (Wireless message, 6.2.20.)

Every Man to Work.

At Omsk 3,175 persons are taking part in voluntary Sunday labour. (Wireless message, 14.2.20.)

The workers in the dry-docks at Rybinsk have decided of their own free will to extend their working day by two hours. (Wireless message, 28.2.20.)

Extra Hours.

As the need for work grows more pressing, the Government has recourse also to extra hours of labour.

In this connection we must call attention to a letter from George Lansbury to the "Daily Herald" (published in the copy of that paper for 23 February) which reads:—

"Overtime is paid for at time-and-a-half rates for the first two hours and at double rates afterwards. Much overtime is being worked at present and a good deal of voluntary work is also being done. This latter means that people work at occupations other than their normal ones in order to assist the nation."

Mr. Lansbury does not give us the extent of this overtime nor the industries in which it is being worked. But it is fair to suppose that almost the whole of it is in the industries of transport and wood-cutting for railway engines and heating, which may be included in the categories mentioned in clause 94, para. *a*, of the Labour Code already referred to.

The adoption of overtime has been advocated for some time. Labour Commissary Schmidt, for instance, in a conversation on overtime reported in Ransome's book (p. 149), which goes back to February 1919, said "For example we are against all overtime, but in the present state of Russia we should be sacrificing to a theory the good of the revolution as a whole if we did not allow and encourage overtime in transport repairs."

Increase in the Working Day.

But the necessity for the most intense efforts in certain fields of industrial activity has driven the Russian Government to have recourse to the still more radical plan of increasing the number of hours in the working day.

When did the general application of this measure come into force ?

Official sanction was apparently not given till February 1920 to a state of affairs which must have been in existence already here and there in Russia. The first wireless message to foreshadow this development is dated 11 February, 1920, and runs as follows :

The Week in Aid of those at the Front.—"In the whole of Soviet Russia, in every single town, this week in aid of those at the Front has aroused great enthusiasm. In many towns the working day has been prolonged by one or two hours during the week in aid of those at the Front and with the transport. In other towns this increase in work remains permanent, and while the present transport crisis lasts, and as long as we must continue to work as hard as we are now doing, there is no other way of re-establishing our normal economic life.

"From the very first the Soviet Government announced that the working day would be of 8 hours and the Soviet Government does not go back on this decision. The 8-hour day must be established, and it will hold good throughout the whole of Soviet Russia. But to support the Government we must to-day work unstintingly, we must work to the very utmost of our strength, to make this great edifice of Soviet Russia bright, comforting and spacious for the hosts of the workers. Let all loyal workers therefore clearly understand that we must labour to overcome all these our present troubles and instead of 8 hours, let them work

10 and even 12 if they can. By so doing they will be working for a better time to come, and their labour will bear its fruits not after decades but soon, as soon indeed as this transport crisis is mastered.

At Konotop, at Nijni-Novgorod and in many other towns, a longer working day has been accepted, and our worker comrades of their own accord went even beyond the measure of this increase. May their example fire all the workers of Soviet Russia! To put forth all the strength he has for the creation of ordered rule must be the daily task for every man throughout the country." (Wireless message, 11.2.20.)

Adoption of the Ten-Hours Day.—This wireless message is followed by another of 13 February, which appears to contain a general decision adopted by the supreme governing authority. The message runs :—

"Sunday is declared a working day. Work in factories and workshops as well as in Soviet establishments is increased by two hours a day."

If therefore we may believe these two messages, which evidently come from official sources, the length of the working day is still in principle 8 hours, but as a temporary measure, to overcome the crisis in production and transport at present raging in Russia, the working day is prolonged to 10 hours and the weekly rest on Sunday now done away with.

Has this measure been applied? Within what limits? What ground does it cover? With what result? Does it also apply in cases where work is compulsory?

CHAPTER II.

W A G E S .

I.—LEGISLATION.

Maximum and Minimum Wage. How fixed and paid.

The first legislation on the wages question appears in No. 255 of the "Izvestia" of 19 December, 1917. According to the first article of this decree of the Supreme Council of Popular Economy the end pursued in fixing a scale of salaries is the stabilisation of the price of produce. The elements taken into consideration are the cost of living, the professional ability of the wage-earner, the danger incurred in the particular work executed, and economic conditions generally. As the latter vary in different parts of Russia the salaries will vary according to the particular conditions in each region (art. 2). The decree then prescribes the formation of a commission of three members with representatives from the central professional organisations, for the purpose of defining the regions and determining the fundamental rates of pay, fixing at the same time minimum and maximum rates. The projects elaborated by this commission are to be submitted to the Congress of Professional Unions of Russia for examination.

Without awaiting the results of the work of this Commission, the Bolshevik Government was obliged to study a tariff of salaries. The next legislation we find on this question is a decree of the Commissary of Labour ("Izvestia," 17 January, 1918, No. 12) fixing the wages of the workers of the metal industry of Petrograd and its neighbourhood. It is evident that before the publication of this decree some effort was made to come to an agreement with the employers on the point, for in the preamble to the decree proper

the Commissary of Labour says, "In their capacity of representatives of the workmen, the Union of Metal Workers elaborated a project of new conditions of labour and a new scale of wages, but was met by the opposition of the Society of Mill and Factory Owners, which is determined to continue in this respect its traditional policy of 'sabotage.' In spite of several convocations to the sittings of the Commissariat of Labour, the representatives of the Society refused to present themselves, whence the necessity of submitting the scale for the approval of the Government Organs, and of promulgating it in the form of a decree." This, we find subsequently, is the method invariably employed for the fixing of scales of wages; the trade union interested or the Central Executive Committee of Soviets works out a project which is confirmed by the Commissariat of Labour and published as a decree, a system which tends to make the Trades Unions a most important part of the organisation of a State where practically all the workers are eventually State employees. This first decree for the Petrograd metal workers, on which subsequent decrees appear to be modelled, divides—or rather maintains a division already made by the Union of Metal Workers on 17 August, 1917—for the purpose of gradation of salary all metal workers into five groups according to the skill or training required. Each of these groups is in turn sub-divided into three categories. The scale of pay—computed per hour—is as follows:

			1st Category.		2nd Category.		3rd Category.	
			R.	K.	R.	K.	R.	K.
1st group	...		2	25	2	20	2	15
2nd "	...		2	05	2	00	1	95
3rd "	...		1	85	1	80	1	75
4th "	...		1	65	1	60	1	55
5th "	...		1	50	1	40	1	30

From this we see that the minimum wage of any metal worker is—counting 8 hours per day—10 roubles 40 kops.

The repartition of the workers into groups is done by a Salary Commission in each works whose decisions, however, are subject to the approval of the metal workers' union. In case of divergence of opinion or other difficulty, the matter is to be put before the Labour Section of the Regional Council of Popular Economy at Petrograd, whose decisions have force of law (art. 52).

It is expressly forbidden to pay workers more than their particular group is entitled to ; in order to pass into a higher group it is necessary to pass an examination before the Salary Commission of the works in which they wish to be engaged.

It is enunciated as a principle that since the worker has a guarantee of salary, he in his turn must guarantee a fixed quantity of labour. If under normal technical conditions he fails to reach normal production he is only entitled to two-thirds of the wages (art. 22).

A decree similar to this one—in fact, in most parts word for word identical with it—was published in the Moscow "Izvestia" of 9 June, 1918, No. 117. This decree fixes the salaries of the metal workers of Moscow and the surrounding governments. For Moscow they are as follows :

			1st Category.		2nd Category.		3rd Category.	
			R.	K.	R.	K.	R.	K.
1st group	...		2	40	2	35	2	30
2nd "	...		2	20	2	15	2	10
3rd "	...		2	00	1	95	1	90
4th "	...		1	80	1	70	1	60
5th "	...		1	50	1	40	1	30

From this it will be seen that though the maximum wage is larger than that fixed in January for the workers of Petrograd, the minimum wage remains the same.

In this particular decree differences are made for different parts of the Moscow region and in art. 17 we find the following scales of payment, taking the Moscow-city rates of pay as the basis :

For the Governments of Moscow, Iaroslav and Tver—95 % of above rates.

For the Governments of Nijni-Novgorod, Vladimir, Kostroma, Riazan, Toula, Orlov, Kaluga—90 % of above rates.

For the Government of Smolensk—85 % of above rates.

For the Governments of Tambov, Kursk, Voronej—80 % of above rates.

It is to be noted that though art. 19 of this decree says that all allowances for lodging, cost of living, war allowances, etc., will cease on the decree coming into force, nevertheless, according to Art. 36, when the salary guaranteed up to 1 June, 1918, is superior to that established by this decree, the former remain in force.

Provision is made also for the other employees of works besides those actually engaged on production. These are divided into fourteen categories, of which the first category receives 750 roubles monthly, and the fourteenth 250 roubles. Their working day is 6 hours, with the exception of those engaged on production work, who work 8 hours.

The "Severnaya Kommuna," No. 21, of 24 June, 1918, contains a decree of the Commissary of Labour for Petrograd, giving a revised table of wages for the metal workers of that district. Instead of five groups of workers there are now only four. The

three categories of the fifth group are merged into the second and third categories of the fourth group, and carry the salaries of these groups. The revised scale is as follows :—

		1st Category.		2nd Category.		3rd Category.	
		R.	K.	R.	K.	R.	K.
1st group	...	2	50	2	45	2	40
2nd	„	2	35	2	30	2	25
3rd	„	2	20	2	15	2	10
4th	„	2	00	1	90	1	80

The minimum wage is thus considerably larger. The maximum wage is also larger, but not in the same proportion. In fact, a few days later a decree of the same commissary ("Severnaya Kommuna," No. 24, of 27 June, 1918) makes the sum of 1 rouble 80 kopeks the minimum wage for all workers of Petrograd and the neighbourhood who are paid by the day. For those who receive monthly salaries, 300 roubles is fixed as a minimum.

It may be noted here that nationalisation had been taking place all this time. This culminated in the decree of 20 June, 1918, whereby all the principal industrial and commercial enterprises were nationalised. The State, therefore, had to assume all the burden of payment as the workers became *ipso facto* State Employees.

Gradation of Salaries.

Some months later, in the "Izvestia," No. 206, of 22 September, 1918, we read a decree which is promulgated with the idea of fixing salaries for the whole of Russia. In this decree the minimum wage in Moscow is fixed at 15 roubles 60 kopeks per diem. The Moscow wages serve as the basis on which those

of other parts of Russia are computed. The country is divided up into zones for each of which the scale of wages is clearly defined. For example—taking Moscow rates as 100%—the scale for the towns of Petrograd and centres of the Archangel and Novgorod Governments is 120%, for certain parts of the Steppe country, etc., 35%. Realising, however, that legislation from the centre in such cases may be subject to errors of computation for certain regions, it is understood that modifications may be introduced provided the Labour Sections of the different governments in accord with the Councils of Trade Unions interested give sufficiently good reasons for them.

Rates of Increase.

The result of this decree is a higher minimum wage for the workers of the Petrograd and Moscow zones. There is nothing, however, to show how it affected the other parts of Russia. The scale of increase of wages issued by the Central Executive Committee and confirmed by the Commissariat of Labour shows an increase varying from 50% for the lower categories of workers to 41·1% for the highest category, the tendency being to lessen the difference between the maximum and the minimum wage. It is to be remarked that employees receiving monthly salaries are not so favoured, the highest increase—for those of the lowest category (those who formerly received 350 roubles per month) being 42·9%, whilst those who received 1,200 roubles had only an increase of 23·3%. On 8 October, 1918, the regional commissary of Labour for Petrograd issued an ordinance regarding the monthly salaries for employees of the Soviets which vary from 500 roubles monthly for prison warders to 1,200 roubles for regional commissaries and others of the more responsible employees. The responsible officials

of the professional unions, members of factory committees, officials of the administrations of nationalised enterprises, are also provided for by a decision of the Council of Professional Unions, approved by the Commissariat of Labour ("Severnaya Kommuna," No. 172, of 6 December, 1918). The maximum monthly salary for any of these is 1,200 roubles, whilst the minimum appears to be 930 roubles.

The only legislation available with regard to wages of unskilled labour, such as watchmen, porters, inferior employees of government and public institutions, appears to be a decree published in the "Izvestia," No. 130, of 26 June, 1919. The rates given are 275 roubles per month for those whose service is less than 6 months and 300 roubles per month for those having longer service. If a lodging is provided deduction is made from the salary, but this deduction cannot exceed 25 roubles per month.

Up to this point we have only a very fragmentary and broken legislation.

It is only in a decree of 12 December, 1918 (published in the "Severnaya Kommuna" of 14 December, No. 179), that we get a general principle which applies generally to the question of wages. In clause 1 of this decree :—

"The scales of the all-Russia unions, approved by the General Council of Trade Unions and the Commissary of Labour, are universally obligatory in all parts of the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic."

Clause 2.—All local Labour Sections are forbidden to formulate local scales of wages in opposition to the general scales and must not impose such on the trade unions which are governed by the general scales.

The other clauses of this decree explain wherein local rates may be imposed and with what limitations.

This decree, which probably only legalises a state of things already in existence, is of great importance.

The Code of Labour Laws of 1919 (clauses 7, 8 and 9) confirms these rights. By these clauses the trade unions are authorised to draw up rates of wages for all industrial concerns, nationalised or private. This is to be done in agreement with the directors or owners of the concerns; the sanction of the Commissaries of Labour is then necessary. If the unions and directors or owners cannot come to an agreement, the rates of wages will be submitted direct to the Commissariat of Labour for sanction. Thus, according to these clauses, it is in reality the central authority of the Government which fixes the rates, although they are worked out in the first instance by the trade unions, and the opinion of the directors and owners in this matter is *de facto* negligible.

Other clauses of the Code of Labour merely repeat what we have already seen in the aforementioned decrees.

One clause, however, is to be noted, namely, clause 59, which lays down that :—

“ When determining the amount of remuneration for each group and category, the following are taken into consideration : kind of labour, degree of danger under which work is taking place, complication and accuracy of the work produced, degree of independence and responsibility, as well as degree of education and experience necessary for its completion.”

This clause is important for the comprehension of the basis on which wages are founded.

Clauses 60 and 61 have also their importance in so much as they confer on the trade unions the task of classifying the workers into groups and categories which form a basis for the scale of wages in each trade.

And, finally, the following clauses must be noted :

“ Art. 70.—Payment of remuneration cannot precede the execution of work.

“ Art. 71.—If the work is of a permanent character, the payment of remuneration must take place periodically but not less than every second week.

“ Remuneration for temporary work and for the execution of separate definite work provided this work does not last for less than 2 weeks, is paid immediately upon the completion of the work.

“ Art. 74.—The payment of remuneration must take place during working hours.

“ Art. 75.—The payment of remuneration must be made at the place of completion of work.”

Besides the payment of labour in money, attempts at payment in kind are to be noted from the very beginning of the Bolshevik regime.

Payment in Kind.

Art. 19 of the decree published in the Moscow “ Izvestia,” No. 117, of 9 June, 1918, runs as follows : “ The estimated value of fuel and products distributed is to be deducted from the salary in those places where such distribution takes place.” And in art. 37 we find the following : “ When the administration of works gives a lodging to the workers, it will deduct from the salary of the worker two roubles per month per square sazhen (49 square feet) of the floor surface of the said lodging.

From this period onwards there is a distinct tendency towards payment—partially or wholly—in kind, owing to the depreciation of the purchasing power of paper money. The idea pursued in future is that Russia is a large Communistic State wherein the two classes, the agriculturists and the workers, help each other by an exchange on a large scale of raw materials and foodstuffs against the manufactured article. The “Severnaya Kommuna,” No. 28, of 6 February, 1919, contains an ordinance of the Supreme Council of Popular Economy by which “in order to substitute for payment in currency payment in kind, the special Commission attached to the Supreme Council of Popular Economy, fixed for the period from 1 February, 1919, to 1 January, 1920, the rations for five categories of citizens, *i.e.*, (1) Workmen and employees, (2) Members of workmen’s and employees’ families, (3) Other citizens, (4) Country people and (5) Soldiers. The last-named are the most favoured; workmen come next. According to the figures given in this ordinance the monthly cost of a workman’s ration is 1,269 roubles, a sum far in excess of any minimum wage yet fixed in currency. This would appear to indicate that the wages of the workers up to this date were insufficient to satisfy even necessities.

The principle of payment in kind was also applied to the Forestry Department. Ordinance No. 1708 of the Commission of Utilisation of 12, 18, 27 and 28 November, 1919 (“*Economicheskaya Jizn*,” No. 281, 14 December, 1919) contains the following articles:—

“Art. 3.—Counting that to prepare 1 cube (343 cubic feet) of wood per day three wood cutters are required to each of whom a ration of $1\frac{1}{2}$ lbs. of flour must be given, or four men on a ration of $1\frac{1}{8}$ lbs. of flour, then 1 cubic sazhen of wood will require $4\frac{1}{2}$ lbs. of flour.

“ Art. 4.—Counting that the transport of 1 cube of wood per day requires three men on a ration of $1\frac{1}{2}$ lbs. of flour or four men on a ration of $1\frac{1}{8}$ lbs., it results that the transport of 1 cube of wood will require $4\frac{1}{2}$ lbs. of flour.

“ Art. 5.—Counting that the loading of 1 cube of wood per day requires one man on a ration of $1\frac{1}{2}$ lbs. of flour, then the loading of 1 cube costs $1\frac{1}{2}$ lbs. of flour.

“ Art. 6.—Counting that one horse will draw 5 cubes of wood a month or $\frac{1}{6}$ of a cube per day over an average distance of 8 versts, the amount of oats to be given to each horse is fixed at 8 lbs. per diem, or 40 lbs. for every cubic sazhen. But in view of the amount of oats at the disposal of the Section of Victualling and Fuel, it is enacted that 20% or 8 lbs. per cube be given in kind and the remainder be replaced by salt and tissue at the rate of 2 lbs. of salt and 2 arshines of unbleached cotton tissue per cubic sazhen.”

Section VI of the “ Russian Code of Labour Laws,” published in 1919, is practically a recapitulation of the foregoing. Art. 72 says: “ The payment of remuneration is carried out by means of money or in lodgments, food supplies, etc.,” and in art. 73 we read: “ For payment of remuneration by means of products a special permit must be received from the local Department of Labour which will determine the rates conjointly with the appropriate professional union.”

[NOTE.—Such rates must coincide with the standard prices worked out by the corresponding institutions of the Soviet Authority (Valuation Commissions of the Commissariat of Food, Land and Lodgment Department, Price Committee, etc.)]

Piece-Work.

Though payment is based on the number of hours of work, there are however cases when piece-work is imposed. Art. 24 of the decree of the Commissariat of Labour, published in the "Izvestia," No. 12, of 17 January, 1918, says: "Piece-work must be done in all cases where the Salary Commissions in agreement with the Work Committees find it expedient to employ this system in the interests of normal production and find it to be technically possible."

According to art. 25 pay for piece-work is computed as follows: "The daily wage of the group to which the work belongs is divided by the number of articles constituting a normal output. The quotient is the pay for the production of one such article." The decree fixing the wages of the Moscow metal-workers ("Moscow Izvestia," No. 117, of 9 June, 1918) provides for piece-work in the same terms. A decree of the Commissary of Labour of 8 June, 1918 ("Moscow Izvestia," No. 120, 13 June, 1918) prescribes piece-work in the peat industry at a fixed rate per 1,000 peat bricks according to the district. Art. 63 of the Russian Code of Labour Laws (1919) says: "Remuneration for piece-work is determined by the calculation of the daily tariff rates divided by the quantity of pieces constituting the standard production."

Bonus System.

Besides the normal pay we see here that a bonus system has been introduced. The scale of these bonuses are given in art. 7 of Ordinance No. 1708 quoted above, which reads as follows:

"In order to ensure greater rapidity in the preparation, carriage and loading, it is enacted that a

bonus be given to wood-cutters, carters and loaders on the following scale :—

(a) For the cutting of 1 cube :

$\frac{1}{2}$ lb. of salt.
 $\frac{1}{2}$ lb. arshine of tissue.
 $\frac{1}{8}$ lb. tobacco.
 $\frac{1}{2}$ box of matches.

(b) For the carriage of 1 cube :

$\frac{1}{2}$ lb. salt.
 $\frac{1}{2}$ arshine of tissue.
 $\frac{1}{8}$ lb. tobacco.
 $\frac{1}{2}$ box of matches.

(c) For the loading of one truck :

$\frac{1}{8}$ lb. salt.
 $\frac{1}{8}$ arshine tissue.
 $\frac{1}{16}$ lb. tobacco.
 $\frac{1}{4}$ box of matches.

Wages of Women.

In regard to wages received by women we have the following pronouncement in identical terms in the first two decrees above quoted: "Working women who execute the same work in quality and quantity as men receive the same salary as the latter." The decree of 16 September, 1918, says: "The minimum wage of a working adult *without distinction of sex* is fixed at 15 roubles 60 kopeks per working day at Moscow.

Wages of Children.

There is no definite data as to the wages paid to children as such. Apprentices may, however, be regarded as children as no one over 18 years of age is admitted as an apprentice. The decree published in the "Izvestia," No. 12 of 17 January, 1918, on the

wages of the Petrograd metal workers, gives the following rates per hour for apprentices :—

Less than 6 months' apprenticeship—50 kopeks.

„ „ 12 „ „	60 „
„ „ 18 „ „	75 „
„ „ 2 years' „	90 „

An apprentice who has not passed his examination at the end of 2 years will touch 1 rouble or 1 rouble 10 kopeks. This, it will be remembered, was at a period when the minimum wage for grown-up metal workers was 1 rouble 30 kopeks per hour. By the decree published in the "Moscow Izvestia," No. 117 of 9 June, 1918, which established wages for the metal workers of Moscow and neighbourhood, the pay of apprentices was as follows :—

6 months	75 kopeks per hour.
1 year	90 „ „ „
1½ years	1.05 rouble „ „
2 „	1.20 „ „ „

If the apprentice does not pass his examination at the end of 2 years he gets 1 rouble 30 kopeks per hour. If, as in the case of highly qualified trades, the apprenticeship lasts 3 years, he receives 1 rouble 30 kopeks per hour for the first 6 months of the third year, and 1 rouble 50 kopeks for the second half of the year. At this time the minimum wage for metal workers in Moscow was 1 rouble 30 kopeks.

Apprentices in other departments of the metal works besides the production part receive the following rates :—

150 roubles per month for the 1st six months.
180 „ „ „ „ „ 2nd „ „
219 „ „ „ „ „ 3rd „ „
240 „ „ „ „ „ 4th „ „

The decree of the Commissary of Labour for Petrograd published in the "Severnaya Kommuna," No. 21, of 24 June, 1918, gives the following rates for apprentices

in the metal working trades, when the minimum wage for adults was 1 rouble 80 kopeks per hour :—

Up to 6 months	1 rouble 00 kopeks per hour.
„ „ 1 year ..	1 „ 10 „ „ „
„ „ 1½ years	1 „ 25 „ „ „
„ „ 2 „	1 „ 50 „ „ „

If he does not pass his examination at the end of 2 years he will receive 1 rouble 60 kopeks and 1 rouble 70 kopeks per hour. The apprentice works 6 hours daily, but is paid for an 8-hour day.

The decree of the Petrograd Regional Commissary of Labour published in the "Severnaya Kommuna," No. 24, of 27 June, 1918, gives as minimum wage for all apprentices during their first 6 months, 8 roubles for 6 hours' work or 200 roubles per month.

From all this legislation the following would appear to be evolved :

- (i) That wages are fixed by the trade unions subject to the sanction of the Labour Commissariat.
- (ii) That they are graded according to certain elements, danger, etc.
- (iii) That these grades are very carefully regulated by grouping the workers in categories, etc.
- (iv) That remuneration is made both in currency and in kind.
- (v) That bonuses are paid for rapid execution of certain jobs.

We have also seen that by a decree of 16 September, 1918, the minimum wage had been fixed at 500 roubles a month.

There have doubtless been increases to this since then. According to Goode,* the minimum wage on 1 August, 1919, was 600 roubles per month, but this was doubled and the minimum wage on 1 September, 1919, was 1,200 roubles per month, while the maximum was

raised from 1,480 to 3,000 and then to 4,800 roubles per month.

The same author informs us that the payment of specialists and experts was not effected according to these figures, but was left to a Committee of the Commissariat and was generally higher than the legal maximum.

Application of the Law on Wages.

The text of the laws has been given, but what do we know of their application? We know very little indeed, for there are no indications whatsoever as to the working of the law, nor as to the results, and very little information regarding the possibility for the working man to obtain the necessities of life with the wages paid.

In the first place, to what extent really do workers exercise the faculty given them to fix their own wages through the intermediary of their unions?

Lenin, it is true, in a speech pronounced on 4 December, 1917, at the Workers' and Soldiers' Soviet in Petrograd ("Nash Viek," 5 December), affirms categorically that the central authorities are not the competent ones to fix wages. "We can only," said he, "give you advice; you, yourselves, on the spot must decide, for how can we know what are the conditions in your locality." Nevertheless, we have reason to believe that at a later moment Bolshevik legislation required every scale of wages to be approved by the People's Commissary for Labour, and even in the Code of 1919 prohibited the fixing by local authorities of wages which are in disagreement with the general tariffs fixed by the central authority.

What happens then, in reality, between the Commissary of Labour and the Professional Unions? Is there harmony or is there conflict? In what way? To what extent do the local branches of the unions succeed in making their needs and claims felt by the Central Direction?

Precise information, however, on this point is not available.

The same is true as regards the real purchasing value of wages.

An interesting document is published on this subject by the "Bulletin of the Commissariat of Labour," August-September, 1918, p. 147:

Information on the Actual Salaries and the Minimum cost of Living (Statistical Section of the Commissariat of Labour).

Period taken : 1 September, 1918.

Locality.	Source of Information.	Unit.	Minimum Daily Cost of Living (in Roubles).	Minimum Salary increased by 100%.	Salary is greater (+) or less than (-) Minimum Cost of Living.
Petrograd ...	Statistical Section of Commissariat of Labour	Working	31.0	25.0	-24.0
Petrograd ...	Section for the Protection of Labour, Petrograd	man's	31.5	—	—
		family			
Moscow ...	Statistical Section of Commissariat of Labour	having	26.1	20.8	-25.5
Central Industrial Region	Statistical Section of Commissariat of Labour and local Section of Ivano-Kinechma	one worker	20.8 18.0	19.75 —	- 5.0 —
Northern Region	Statistical Section of Commissariat of Labour	(1.67 con-	26.7	20.8	-29.0
Non-industrial Central Region and Volga	Statistical Section of Commissariat of Labour	sumers)	18.3	17.7	- 3.3

N.B.—There was an increase of salaries by 50% by decree of 16 September, 1918.

The following statistics are given by the same organ :

Purchasing Value of Salaries.

Moscow Region.	Increase in Price of Food.	Increase in Salaries of Metal Workers.		
		Skilled Workmen.	Semi- Skilled Class.	Labourers.
From July, 1916, to 1 January, 1918	% 650	% 119	% 223	% 327
From July, 1916, to 1 April, 1918	898	237	344	450
From July, 1916, to 1 June, 1918	1,500	—	365	—

The average increase in the salary of a skilled metal worker is five times less than the increase in cost of living.

Petrograd Region.—(a) The daily wage of labourers has increased from 4 roubles in 1917 to 12 roubles in 1918. The real salary expressed in calories of the food ration has decreased by 233 %, calculating according to uncontrolled prices, and 156 % according to controlled prices.

(b) The average salary of the Petrograd working man increased from 26.7 roubles per month in 1914, to 280 roubles in 1918. The price of food increased from 11.7 roubles per month to 902 roubles (for married man) and 601.5 (unmarried) during the same period.

(c) If we suppose the salary in the beginning of 1918 to be 100, food expenses will be 322 for the married man and 215 for the unmarried.

(d) The inquiry as to the working man's budget by the Labour Section at Petrograd shows that on 1 June, 1918, the expenses of a working man's family were 11.8 roubles per head, and the salaries 6 roubles per head, *i.e.*, a deficit of 95 %. The increase in prices of food-stuffs from 1 June to 1 September, 1918, is 40 % controlled prices, and 60 % in the open market, hence a further deficit.

After this period there is no documentary information whatsoever, and it is impossible at the present moment to form an idea as to the actual quantity of necessities a workman can buy with the minimum wage.

What is the budget of the family of a skilled or unskilled worker? To what extent can he satisfy the needs which are not purely material? To these questions no answer can be given.

The same is true in the case of specialists whose salary, according to Goode, is a matter for special consideration. It would be interesting to know precisely what are these cases and what is their proportion to the number of normal cases.

We know that the Bolsheviks, according to their own statement, have modified their attitude toward technical personnel; after having expelled them from their factories they recognised the necessity for their collaboration in industrial production and tried to bring them back.

What salaries have been fixed for this personnel in nationalised industries? What are the conditions of engagement and of labour in their regard? What advantages have been denied them? These questions also cannot be answered. The same applies to office employees, as well as to the subordinate personnel of nationalised enterprises, etc.

As to the payment of wages in kind a series of questions might also be put.

The only document we possess in this respect belongs to 1918. In the "Izvestia" of 27 September of that year Vestigradoff, defending this system, gives the following figures :—

Expenses.	One Man's Ration.	Price in 1914.	Cost of the Ration in 1914.	Price in 1918.	Cost of the Ration in 1918.
White bread	50 grs.	10 K.	5 K.	15 R.	7½ R.
Milk ...	1 Kryntsa*	6 K.	6 K.	2½ R.	2½ R.
Sugar ...	16 Zolotniks	14 K.	2 K.	28 R.	4¾ R.
Tea ...	1 Zolotnik	2 R.	2 K.	15 R.	17 K.
Meat ...	½ lb.	? K.	2 K.	10 R.	20 R.
Black bread	2 lbs.	2½ K.	10 K.	10 R.	20 R.
Grey bread ...	½ lb. ...	40 K.	5 K.	28 R.	3½ R.
Vegetables ...	—	—	5 K.	—	3 R.
Lodging and heat	—	15 R.	10 K.	60 R.	72 R.
Paraffin ...	1 lb.	1 R.	50 K.	2 R.	2 R.
Newspaper ...	—	—	4 K.	35 K.	35 R.
Various (laundry, etc.)	—	—	50 K.	—	6 R.
Total ...	—	—	1·52 R.	—	56·77 R.

* About a litre.

According to Vestigradoff, it follows that the minimum cost of living, which in 1914 was 1 rouble 52 kopeks, is now 56 roubles 77 kopeks, *i.e.*, 37 times higher. It would be necessary to increase the wages in proportion. To do this, the circulation of paper money would have to be increased, and as produce is not plentiful prices would go up, thus necessitating a further increase of wages.

But what happens after this date? To what extent has the Government been able to remedy the terrible depreciation of its money? On what basis

is the price of goods distributed in payment of wages calculated? To what extent has the system become general? With what results? How was it received by the working masses? With the documents at our disposal, these questions of capital importance cannot be answered.

Another series of queries arises out of the division of the workers into groups and categories.

Goode, who in this also is our only authority, says :

“ Workmen are paid according to very elaborate tariffs, which have been prepared for all occupations whatsoever. It is here that the cause of present trouble exists. A rigidity of tariff allows no margin within which the management can act ; but attention has been drawn to this, and a revision in the sense required is being undertaken.”

The defects of the system mentioned by Goode are very real, and the fact that attempts are being made to remedy them shows that serious inconveniences arise.

Here again, however, we have no precise information. We do not know whether the workers themselves wish a reform in this respect, or if it is asked for by the factory administrations and rejected by the workers, whether skilled or unskilled.

We do not know whether exceptions are made for specially skilled workmen, nor whether the groups correspond really to the difference in technical ability, nor if the wages are really proportionate to the groups.

The only recent information on the bonus system is a wireless message of 12 March of this year, wherein the system appears to be energetically supported by the Bolshevik Government :

“ Every social *régime*, whether one of serfdom, slavery or capital had its own methods of labour coercion and labour education in the interests of the

exploiting upper class. The Soviet *régime* is confronted by the task of developing its own methods of procedure for the purpose of raising the intensity of labour on the basis of social economy and in the interests of the toiling masses. Together with the influence of propaganda and moral influence on the toiling masses, and repression applied to idlers, parasites and disorganisers, competition is a powerful means of raising the intensity of labour. . . . The system of rewards must be one of the most powerful means of creating competition, and in accordance with it a system of food supply must be established.

But precise information is equally lacking in this matter, and the results of the inquiry are as little satisfactory as in the other cases.

Another series of questions arises out of the desire to know the general results of the systems adopted by the Bolsheviks in regard to wages. What was their result on the productivity of the workmen? Professor Isaieff says on this subject :

“ Payment for labour has grown beyond all measure, and has lost all bearing with purely business expenses and the productivity of labour. Thus, for instance, the outlays for the payment of labour and administration in the second half of 1918 grew in the average, as against those of the first half of the year, by 300%, whereas the purely business outlays have only increased by 5% on the whole. (‘ State Control Izvestia,’ No. 1.) ”

This is too little to allow us to form a definite opinion on such an important subject. We require a more extensive documentation, we need above all to see for ourselves on the spot, if the system adopted by the Bolshevik Government has led in general to the good of the people, if it is regarded with favour by the

working masses, and if, as we hear it said—without, however, any proof—it is one of the causes of the ruin of Russian industry, or if on the contrary it was the best system to adopt in the exceptional circumstances then reigning in the country.

CHAPTER III.

FEMALE LABOUR.

I.—LEGISLATION.

The decree of 29 October—19 November, 1917 ("Izvestia," No. 212, of 31 October, 1917), in its art. 7, says that women must not be employed on night work. Art. 16 forbids the employment of women in subterranean work. Art. 19 forbids women to do any overtime work. Art. 3, para. *b*, of the Code of Labour Laws, says that pregnant women for a period of 8 weeks before and 8 weeks after confinement are exempted from compulsory labour. Art. 14 says that no person of the female sex may apply for labour during night or in branches of industry where the conditions of labour are especially hard and dangerous. There have presumably been other laws passed regarding the labour of women, for we find in the decree on the Inspection of Labour published in the "Izvestia," No. 161, of 31 July, 1918, Section VII, para. 10, art. 4, which makes it obligatory for the Inspectors of Labour to see that the laws for the protection of maternity are observed, *i.e.*, if women are admitted to work 8 weeks before confinement and 8 weeks after, and if women are authorised to give the breast to their babies according to the terms laid down by the law (every 3 hours for at least half an hour). This prescription is to be found in a note to art. 89 of the Russian Code of Labour Laws.

According to the "Krasnaya Gazeta," of 8 December, 1919, all the unskilled labour in the Petrograd factories is female.

II.—APPLICATION OF THE LAW.

There are very little data to show how the law as to female labour is applied. Louise Bryant, in "Six Red Months in Russia" (London, William Heineman, 1919), p. 133, says that free care is given to women for 16 weeks before, during and after confinement. They are required to work only 4 hours a day in the factories for the first month after returning. This applies to all women, whether married or single.

Alexandra Kollontay says in her "The Activity of the Russian People's Commissariat for Social Welfare" (published by "The People's Russian Information Bureau," 152, Fleet Street, E.C.4), says that pregnant and confined women receive aids amounting to the sum earned for a period of 8 weeks before and after confinement if they are physical workers; other cases receive such aid for 6 weeks. Further, she says, "In the factories and works, as well as in the country, at the time of the work of the fields in summer, day nurseries are established in which mothers can feed their own children."

CHILD LABOUR.

I.—LEGISLATION.

The tendency of the legislation on this point appears to be to reduce as much as possible the employment of children. The first mention of child labour is indirect; in the law on the Socialisation of the Land, published on 2 March, 1918 (Labry, pp. 38—45), art. 14, speaking of the census of the agricultural population, divides the population according to age, and considers unfit for work children of both sexes under 12 years of age.

The decree of 29 October/19 November, 1917 ("Izvestia," No. 212, of 31 October, 1917), says in art. 7 that children under 16 years of age must not be employed on night work, in art. 16 that they must not be employed in subterranean work, and in art. 19 that they may not work overtime. Art. 10 is as follows: "the work of children under 18 years of age is governed by the following rules: (a) it is forbidden to employ children under 14 years; (b) for children under 18 years of age the maximum working day must not exceed 6 hours.

"N.B.—From 1 January, 1919, it is forbidden to engage children under 15 years of age, and after 1 January, 1920, under 20 years."

Art. 2 of the Russian Code of Labour Laws exempts persons under 16 years of age from compulsory labour. Art. 14 forbids persons under 18 years of age from applying for labour during the night and in branches of industry where the conditions of labour are especially hard and dangerous.

II.—APPLICATION OF THE LAW.

Here, again, we suffer from the poverty of reliable information. In "Bolshevism at Work," W. T. Goode says that young workers are not allowed to work on night shifts. The age at which work may begin is 16, and it is hoped later on to raise it. From 16 to 18 years of age a 6-hour day is fixed, and no working of overtime is allowed. . . . The remaining 2 hours of an 8-hour day must be spent in schools that are specially arranged for the workers' improvement under Lunacharsky's scheme. As a temporary measure, due to the conditions obtaining in war-time, it has been permitted for youths from 14 to 16 years of age to work for 4 hours per day, but only in those trades which are not prejudicial to health."

In the "Economicheskaya Jizn," No. 272, of 4 December, 1919, it is stated that in the Central Committee of the Union of Railway Workers there has been created a sub-section for the protection of child labour. In view of the necessity for increasing the work on railways, this Central Committee considered that where conditions did not allow of a 4 to 6-hour day for youths, the putting into force of the 4-hour day should be postponed, such a departure from the terms of the decree being allowed only with the consent of the Professional Unions and the Inspector of Labour. When a youth under 16 years of age works over 4 hours, or under 18 years over 6 hours, he is to be paid overtime pay. There are no statistics available as to the number of children employed.

DANGEROUS AND UNHEALTHY INDUSTRIES.

I.—LEGISLATION.

In the decree of 29 October—19 November, 1917 ("Izvestia," No. 212, of 31 October, 1917), art. 4, remark II is as follows: "If the worker, on account of the conditions of his work, cannot go out from the works to take his meals, a special room must be set apart for this purpose. The setting apart of a special room for meals is obligatory for workmen who during work are in contact with raw material, recognised by the Supreme Council for Industry (or the organ taking its place) as hurtful to the health (lead, mercury, etc.)." Art. 15 says: "In unhealthy industries, where workers are in conditions particularly bad for the health, or run risks of poisoning (workshops where the temperature is very high, mercury or white lead factories, etc.), the hours of work as fixed by arts. 3, 6 and 8 should be reduced. The list of these industries, with indication of the maximum hours of labour and other conditions, is compiled by the Supreme Council of Mining and Industry (or the organ taking its place).

Section IX, para. 13, of the decree on the Inspection of Labour, published in the "Izvestia," No. 161, of 31 July, 1918, is as follows:—

"In the surveillance of the protection of labour in the establishments of production particularly harmful to the health, it is necessary to determine if the laws of distribution of hours of work, and the regulations as to the hygienic state of these establishments, are observed.

“ In this respect it is indispensable that attention be paid to the following points :—

- “ (1) Is the law observed as to the length of working hours in enterprises particularly harmful to the health ?
- “ (2) Does the administration serve out special clothes where the character of the production requires it ?
- “ (3) Is there a special place for changing clothes ?
- “ (4) Are there lavatories, towels and soap ?
- “ (5) Is there a special room for meals ?
- “ (6) Are eye-protectors and respirators served out where the character of the production requires it ?
- “ (7) Are there exhaustors, ventilators, etc. ?
- “ (8) Does the administration serve out any substance to be absorbed as a preventive of poisoning or effects harmful or dangerous to life and health, caused by vapour, gas and metal dust ?
- “ (9) Are the walls, ceilings and the floors washed sufficiently well and often in order to remove dust produced which may be hurtful or dangerous to life and health, or is this dust removed by any other means ? ”

Art. 132 of the Russian Code of Labour Laws states :
 “ The organs of labour inspection are entitled to take extra measures for the removal of conditions threatening the lives and health of workers, even if the taking of the said measures has not been foreseen by special law or regulation, instruction or order of the People's Commissariat of Labour, or by the Local Department of Labour.

[NOTE.—The organs of inspection must immediately inform the Local Department of Labour of the extra measures taken for the protection of life

and health, and the Local Department of Labour is entitled either to keep these special instructions in force or to cancel them.]

As stated in the chapters on female and child Labour, women and children are not allowed to work in enterprises hurtful or dangerous to life and health.

A list of industries hurtful or dangerous to health is compiled by the Department of Labour Protection and published annually in January, but it is unfortunately not available.

II.—APPLICATION OF THE LAW.

We have no material permitting us to form an opinion on the application of the law.

CHAPTER IV.

UNEMPLOYMENT.

I.—LEGISLATION.

The legislation available regarding unemployment has a double end in view, viz. (a) the prevention of unemployment, (b) the helping of the unemployed.

(a) *The Prevention of Unemployment.*

It was natural that the first idea which occurred in the matter of prevention of unemployment was the formation of Labour Exchanges. Art. 6 of the Decree of 20 December, 1917—2 January, 1918, on the stopping of works, and the conditions of dismissal and registration of workers, says: "Dismissed workers are registered at the Labour Exchange. The Labour Exchange sees to the distribution of the workers among the different enterprises, and helps the unemployed to obtain help in conformity with the law as to the insurance against unemployment, but only after the period for which they have been paid in advance. Every worker registered at the Labour Exchange must accept the work that is offered to him. A refusal to do so will entail the loss of his turn in obtaining work and a deprivation of the right to obtain help." This decree was annulled by a subsequent decree published in the "Pravda," No. 30, of 20 February, 1918, but art. 7 of this new decree is substantially the same except that no mention is made of the obligation to accept the work offered.

That there were a large number of refusals to accept work offered is evident from a report of A. Anikst, Chief of the Labour Market Section of the Commissariat

of Labour, published in the August—September, 1918, number of the "Bulletin of the Commissariat of Labour." He says that the first half of 1918 was devoted to the organisation of Labour Exchanges, and affirms that the majority of the unemployed are scattered over the country in an abnormal and irrational way. The sub-section for the distribution of labour began to function in June, 1918, especially in organising the departure and the feeding of workers. In this work it has met with extreme difficulty. For example, Moscow and Petrograd were asking for workers in the building trade, and although there were 10,000 unemployed at Vladimir, they refused to go unless they were assured of a sufficiency of food-stuffs. He cites as characteristic the fact that workers try to get work in Siberia, the Urals, and anywhere nearer to the source of bread, but they go unwillingly or refuse absolutely to go to other places. When the Ural Regional Labour Exchange asked for carpenters, 500 volunteers were found immediately in one small town, but when the Moscow Labour Exchange asked that the workers be diverted to Briansk they all refused to go. These refusals became so frequent and had such a serious effect, that the Commissary of Labour was obliged to issue a decree on 3 September, 1918 ("Bulletin of the Commissariat of Labour," August—September, 1918), forbidding such refusals. The principal articles of this decree are as follows :

Art. 1.—The unemployed, registered at the Labour Exchange, may not refuse work of his speciality which is offered to him if the conditions correspond to the syndical tariff.

Art. 2.—In case of insufficiency of man-power the Labour Exchange may, in agreement with the local Federation of Unions, send unemployed of other categories similar to those required under the same conditions as the latter.

Art. 3.—The unemployed may not refuse temporary work. If this temporary work does not last more than 15 days the unemployed man keeps his turn at the Labour Exchange.

Art. 4.—Makes obligatory for unemployed, harvest and food transport work.

Art. 5.—Forbids refusal to go to another locality. Unmarried workers are taken first, married afterwards.

In art. 6 the penalties for refusal are numerated ; they are (a) deprival of monetary help during three months, (b) deprival of the right of registration at the Labour Exchange, (c) denunciation to the authorities, by whom the unemployed of this category will be considered as a person of no definite means of subsistence.

The "Izvestia," No. 239, of 1 November, 1918, contains a decree creating a new organ of the Commissariat of Labour, viz., Sections for the Distribution of Labour. This decree annuls (art. 16) all statutes of Labour Exchanges and all other laws and regulations hitherto issued on the subject. According to art. 1, these sections are created in order to "have an exact census of labour and distribute it according to the plans established in the Russian Federal Socialist Republic." A section will exist in all localities with not less than 10,000 inhabitants (art. 2), though places with less may obtain special permission from headquarters to found one.

The work of these sections is (art. 5) : (a) to register every person working for remuneration ; (b) to register every person seeking work or unemployed in their locality and also all requests for man-power ; (c) to satisfy requests for man-power. No payment is to be taken for services rendered in these respects (art. 11), and the sections are maintained at the expense of the State (art. 10).

The Russian Code of Labour Laws (1919) gives the following legislation on the subject :

21. A wage-earner, having no work according to his speciality, is registered in the local Department of Labour Distribution as an unemployed.

22. Establishments and persons needing workers must address themselves to a local Department of Labour Distribution or Correspondence Bureau, stating the condition of work offered, as well as those which the worker must satisfy (profession, speciality, knowledge, experience).

23. The Department of Labour Distribution, upon the receipt of the claim mentioned in art. 22, directs a person meeting the requirements of the claim according to the order of precedence in which the applications for work were made.

24. An unemployed person has no right to refuse work offered according to his speciality, provided the working conditions are in conformity with the standard determined by the corresponding tariff regulations, or, if such should not exist, by the professional union.

25. A wage-earner, having received work for a period of not longer than two weeks, is considered to be unemployed and does not lose his turn in the Department of Labour Distribution.

26. If the local Department of Labour Distribution has not any workers on its list who meet the requirements of the work offered, the claim is immediately sent to the District Exchange Bureau, the establishment or person inviting the labourer being simultaneously informed.

27. When workers are required for another district, a roll call is taken of the unemployed registered

in a given Department of Labour Distribution who are desirous of going there; if there are enough workers desirous of working in another district, the Department of Labour Distribution sends the lacking quantity of workers in the order of their turns of registration, but those who support others by their wages must not be taken before those who are without dependants.

28. In the Department of Labour Distribution within the limits of the district, if there are no workers meeting the requirements of the employment, the District Exchange Bureau is given the right, upon agreement with the corresponding professional union, to send instead of workmen of the speciality required, an unemployed person of another class approaching as nearly as possible the speciality required.

29. An unemployed person having received work outside his speciality is obliged to accept the same, but he can give notice of his wish to execute such work temporarily, until he receives work according to his speciality.

30. A wage-earner, working outside his speciality and having given notice of his wish to execute the offered work temporarily, keeps his turn in the Department of Labour Distribution until he gets work of his speciality.

31. Private individuals who have violated the rules of labour distribution, mentioned in the present division, are subject to penalties imposed upon them by the local Collegium of the Department of Labour Distribution in the form of a fine of not less than 300 roubles or deprivation of liberty for not less than a week. Soviet establishments and officials breaking the stated rules of labour distribution are guilty of official crime.

(b) Help to Unemployed.

One of the first articles inscribed on the Bolshevik programme was the principle of insurance against unemployment, the whole burden of which was to be borne by the employer. This is evident from the promise made on 29 October–11 November, 1917, by the Government, to make laws in this respect ("Pravda," 30 October–12 November, 1917). A decree was accordingly published on 28 November–11 December, 1917 ("Pravda," No. 194, 29 November–12 December, 1917) as follows:

1. The present decree is to be enforced all over the territory of the Russian Republic and applies to all persons without distinction of sex, age, religion, nationality or race, who are employed for remuneration in all branches of labour, manufacturing, mining, metallurgy, transport, manual labour, building, commerce, agriculture, forestry, fishery, home work, personal services, liberal professions, etc.

All persons employed for remuneration are to be insured against unemployment, without regard to the character or the length of the work or to the nature of the establishment employing them, public or private.

2. This regulation does not apply to persons belonging to the cadres of enterprises, such as overseers, administrators, engineers, legal advisers, etc., nor to persons practising a liberal profession if their regular salary is more than treble the average wage of the workers of their place of residence, wage established by the local and regional Councils of the Professional Unions.

3. The present regulations consider as unemployed every person fit for work whose principal means of existence is work for remuneration, unable to find work at the normal wage fixed by the competent

professional unions, and who is registered in the local Labour Exchanges or with the professional unions.

[*Note.*—Persons deprived of work in consequence of a lock-out are considered as unemployed.]

4. The following are not considered as unemployed within the meaning of the present regulations :

(a) Persons who, though without work, keep their situations.

(b) Persons deprived of wages on account of a strike, no matter how long it may last.

[*Note.*—Strikes caused by a diminution of wages or a prolongation of the working day do not deprive insured persons of the right to help from the unemployment funds.]

5. The fact and the period of unemployment are determined by the unemployment fund management and controlled by the local Labour Exchanges and professional unions.

6. The unemployment funds are constituted by subscription from the employers.

7. These sums are paid in to the unemployment funds and constitute a common fund for the unemployed of all Russia.

8. The unemployment funds of all Russia are invested, lodged, and employed in conformity with the rules laid down by the Insurance Council.

9. The amount of subscriptions of employers is to be in the form of a certain percentage of the salary and is fixed uniformly for the whole of Russia by the Insurance Council as a minimum of 3 %, in conformity with the data furnished by the Council of Professional Unions for all Russia.

The minimum subscription from employers for season workers is fixed at 5 % of the salary.

[*Note.*—After the establishment of a uniform progressive tax on property, income and heritage, the Government may substitute for the employers' subscriptions a portion of this tax.]

10. The funds committee may decide that the amount of the subscription, instead of being exactly in proportion to the salary, be fixed arbitrarily for each category.

11. The subscriptions must be paid to the unemployment funds during the week following the payment of wages. Subscriptions not paid up within the period indicated may be recovered from the employers on the order of the Commissary of Labour, according to the procedure laid down for the recovery through the judicial authorities of debts to the State (Collection of Laws, Vol. XVI, 2nd part). The employer will then be obliged to pay to the unemployment funds an extra penalty of 10 % per mensem on the arrears of subscriptions, counting each fraction of a month as an entire month.

12. Employers are obliged :

- (a) To make a declaration to the unemployment fund management, of every case of employment or dismissal within a period of three days.
- (b) To furnish to the fund management within a week of the payment of wages, detailed information—in the form prescribed by the Insurance Council—as to the work executed in their establishments, the amount paid in salary to each person in particular and to each country.

- (c) To keep all the above information regularly posted in their books.
- (d) To communicate to the persons delegated by the committees all account books, documents, notes, discounts and books necessary for the verification of the above information.

13. The following is considered as wages (salary) within the meaning of the present decree :

- (a) The sum earned in the course of the year or other interval of time, including overtime pay (without distinction of method of payment : by the day, fortnight, or by the piece, etc.).
- (b) The value of allocations in kind (lodging, food, etc.) in the same lapse of time if they are issued by the employer ; the value of lodging is computed at from 20 % to 30 % of the salary, that of food at their actual cost. The value of the issue in kind within the limits indicated is determined by the Workers' Insurance Commission on the data furnished by the professional unions and their local confederations.

Participations in the profits and commission are to be included in the salary.

14. The daily issues to the unemployed are equal to their total salary, but they must not exceed the average daily wage for the locality in question.

[*Note.*—The average daily wage for the locality is determined by the local or regional Council of the Professional Unions.]

15. If unemployment only lasts from 1 to 3 days there is no issue, if it is prolonged beyond 3 days the unemployed person has the right to the issue from the first day of unemployment.

16. In case of illness of the unemployed, the unemployment fund—which will communicate with the hospital fund—will issue the pecuniary help and will furnish the medical aid required by the regulations of these funds.

17. General municipal funds will be instituted in the towns, district unemployment funds in the districts.

18. Unemployment fund managements may form unions and come to agreements among themselves and with other organisations and institutions.

19. Unemployment fund managements may acquire in their names movable and immovable property also the right of property, have the right to sign obligations and pursue and be pursued before the judicial authorities.

20. The fund committee—composed of an equal number of representatives of the professional unions, factory committees and hospital fund committees—will manage the affairs of the unemployment fund. The number of members will be settled by agreement between these organisations.

21. The fund council will choose from amongst its members :

- (a) a governing body ;
- (b) a controlling committee.

[*Note.*—After the establishment of other forms of insurance and the constitution of a general insurance fund, the management of the unemployment fund will pass into the hands of the latter.]

22. Appeal may be made to the Insurance Commission within a delay of two weeks against a decision of the unemployment fund management ; the decisions of the Insurance Commission may be

appealed against in the same period before the Insurance Council. During the appeal there is no stay of execution.

23. Until Insurance Commissions and Council are organised on a basis guaranteeing a majority to labour representation, the functions of the Commissions and the Council as defined by the present regulations will be performed by the local commissions and the Central Unemployment Insurance Commission.

24. The local and government unemployment insurance sub-commissions are to be formed under the Insurance Commissions, and will be composed of 21 persons, of whom 5 will represent the professional unions or their confederations, 5 the factory and mill committees, 4 the hospital funds, 1 the labour commissions, 1 the commercial and industrial commissions, 2 the municipalities, and 1 the direction of the zemstvos.

25. The Central Unemployment Insurance Commission is to be formed under the Insurance Council and will be composed of 27 members, 18 representing in equal numbers the Council of Professional Unions, the Central Council of the factory and mill committees and the labour section of the Insurance Council, 2 representatives of the Labour Commission, 1 representing the Commercial and Industrial Commission, 1 the direction of the zemstvos, 1 the municipality and 4 the employers.

26. The administration of the unemployment fund is to be entrusted to the local councils of the professional unions, the mill and factory committees and the hospital funds managements.

27. In case the organisations mentioned in art. 26 do not form unemployment funds within one month, they will be formed by the Commissary of Labour.

28. The present regulations are published by telegraph and come into force immediately.

29. Anyone guilty of a breach of these regulations is liable to prosecution and imprisonment for not more than one year.

(Signed) ULIANOF (LENIN),
*President of the Council of
the People's Commissaries.*

SHLAPNIKOF,
Commissary of Labour.

The "Izvestia," No. 23, of 30 January, 1918, contains the following decree of the Commissary of Labour, issued with a view to increasing the funds of the unemployment fund :

(1) At the moment of closing enterprises and dismissing workers, employers must pay in favour of the All-Russian unemployment fund the sums fixed by the Insurance Council, viz., for professions the practice of which is not dependent on the season, 4 %, and for the season employments, 6 % of the entire sum paid to the workers.

(2) The present regulations come into force from the moment of publication of the decree on insurance against unemployment.

(3) The sums paid in accordance with art. 1 must be lodged at the State Treasury to the credit of the All-Russia unemployment fund, on the receipt of advice from the Insurance Council.

(Signed) SHLAPNIKOF,
People's Commissary of Labour.

VINOKUROF,
*Secretary of the Social Insurance
Section.*

A law was issued on 7 August, 1918, by the Council of People's Commissaries, which stated amongst other things, that after nationalisation or sequestration enterprises must continue to pay the sums fixed by law to the insurance funds (art. 1). A note to art. 3 forbids the forming of private insurance funds by any group or groups of workers.

The "Severnaya Kommuna" of 10 October, 1918, contains a decree of which some of the articles are as follows :

(1) All enterprises, establishments, and administrations of the city of Petrograd are obliged to take part in unemployment insurance as from 11 December, 1917.

(2) Proprietors of enterprises, establishments and administrations or their responsible managers who have not up to the present paid in to the Social Insurance funds the sums they owe for unemployment insurance must do so at latest by 1 November.

(3) All enterprises, establishments and enterprises without exception, also all persons exploiting the work of others in any form (factories, mills, piece-work, domestics, etc.) must insure their personnel against unemployment.

(4) The amount of the subscription for unemployment insurance is fixed at 5% of the salary for season workers and 4% for other workers. All indemnities without exception, food in kind, indemnity paid in case of dismissal are included in the salary.

[*Note.*—The lodging allowance is fixed at 30%, other allowances at their cost price.]

(5) The Poor House Committees, as from 1 November next must ascertain monthly that the inmates of their houses are in possession of the receipt that the

employers have paid in to the Unemployment Fund, the sums due by them. They are, moreover, obliged immediately to inform the management of the Unemployment Fund of any cases of lack of receipts.

In such cases the Committees will see that no removal of goods and chattels from the premises of the delinquents takes place without the authority of the Unemployment Fund. Furthermore they will stop the sale of all goods on such premises. The Regional Soviets are responsible for the carrying out of this order.

The Russian Code of Labour Laws in an appendix to art. 79 gives the following rules :

Rules concerning Unemployment and Payments of Subsidies.

(1) Every citizen of the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic, who is subject to compulsory labour and registered in the local Department of Labour Distribution as being without work of his or her speciality according to remuneration determined by the corresponding tariffs, is considered unemployed.

(2) The following persons are also regarded as unemployed :

- (a) Those who have received work continuing for not more than two weeks (art. 25 of the present Code).
- (b) Those who have received work outside their speciality and execute same temporarily until they receive work of their speciality (art. 29 and 30 of the present Code).
- (3) The rights of unemployed are not extended to :
 - (a) Persons who, despite the regulations of arts. 2, 24 and 29 of the present Code, are evading compulsory labour and refusing to accept work offered.

(b) Persons not registered as unemployed in the local Department of Labour Distribution (art. 21 of the Code).

(c) Persons who have wilfully deserted work and are, therefore, deprived of unemployed rights for the term fixed by art. 54 of the present Code.

(4) All persons, indicated in arts. 1 and 2 of the present rules, have the right to be engaged on permanent work (for a period exceeding 2 weeks), according to their speciality in order of turns determined in the list of the Department of Labour Distribution for each speciality.

(5) Persons indicated in art. 1 and para. (b) of art. 2 of the present rules, have the right to receive subsidies from the local unemployment funds.

(6) Subsidies to unemployed, mentioned in art. 1 of the present rules, are paid in the amount of the remuneration due to them as wage earners entered by the valuation commission as a definite sum, determined by a corresponding tariff, group and category (art. 61).

[*Note.*—The People's Commissariat of Labour is entitled in special cases to reduce the subsidies paid to unemployed persons to the minimum of living expenses determined for a given locality.]

(7) Wage earners, who have received work not according to their speciality (para. (b), art. 2), are paid a subsidy equal to the amount of the difference between the remuneration due to them as wage earners of their own definite group and category and the remuneration actually received by them, in case the latter is of a less amount.

(8) An unemployed person desiring to use his right to receive subsidy, must apply to the local unemployment funds, presenting the following documents :

(a) Registration card of the local Department of Labour Distribution.

(b) Certificate of the valuation commission indicating the registration of the unemployed person into a definite group and category of wage earners.

(g) The payment of subsidy must be preceded by a verification of the extent of unemployment and the reason for it, as well as by verification of the group and category to which the unemployed person belongs. The verification is produced by the local unemployment funds with the aid of the Department of Labour Distribution and professional union.

(10) The local unemployment funds may refuse the applicant the payment of subsidy if there are adequate reasons for the refusal.

(11) The local unemployment funds must inform the applicant within three days from the receipt of application of the refusal to pay the subsidy.

(12) The interested persons may appeal within two weeks from the decision of the local unemployment funds to the local department of labour, and from the decision of the local department of labour to the district department of labour. The decision of the district department of labour is final and not subject to further appeal.

(13) The payment of subsidy to an unemployed person begins not before the actual cessation of work, and not later than after the fourth day.

(14) Subsidies are paid from the insurance of unemployment fund.

(15) The unemployment insurance fund is composed of:—

(a) Payments from all enterprises, establishments, and persons employing paid labour.

(b) Fines imposed for delay of payments.

(c) Casual payments.

(16) Amounts and method of collection of payments and fines mentioned in art. 15 of the present rules are determined yearly by a special resolution of the People's Commissariat of Labour.

II.—APPLICATION OF THE LAW.

With regard to unemployment we find ourselves confronted with two difficulties ; one is the paucity of information, and the second is the conflicting testimony of the sources we have.

It appears from the report of Anikst quoted above that the law as to helping the unemployed is being carried out, though abuses are rife. He gives as one of the reasons for non-acceptance of regular employment : " The unemployed receive 5 to 7 roubles and meals, seeing that they can earn secretly 25 roubles more, there is no reason why they should take work paid at 13 to 15 roubles a day."

According to the " Izvestia " of 3 July, 1918, at a conference of the Moscow Factory Committees, the Citizen Faingold made a report on the unemployment funds. From 5 April to 12 June the subscriptions to the funds were 15,244,306 roubles, of which 11,143,184 roubles from the employers. The help given was as follows :

2, 275,412 roubles in money.

539,585 roubles in kind.

12,000 unemployed received money and 5,671 in kind.

The following is the information available on the work of finding employment :

In the " Izvestia " of 13 June, 1918, Shlapnikoff, Commissary of Labour, declares that the number of unemployed is over 300,000. The demand for manpower

	Per cent.
In the Petrograd region is ..	10 to 12 of the offer.
In the Moscow region ..	14 to 18 ..
In the Volga region ..	20 to 22 ..
In the Ural and Siberia region	30 to 33 ..

Unemployed women are 27 per cent. of the whole ; the demand for female labour is 9 per cent. of the whole.

In the " Izvestia " of 2 August, 1918, we read that the Commissariat of Labour declares that the number of unemployed is diminishing. At 21 Labour Exchanges the following numbers were registered :—

In April	..	..	..	21,859	unemployed.
In May	..	..	..	19,978	„
In June	..	..	..	13,498	„

Thirty-seven Labour Exchanges of the Moscow region registered in June 61,633 unemployed and 27,541 requests for man-power ; 22,336 men were sent to the employers. In certain cases the Labour Exchanges were not able to satisfy the demands of the employers through lack of skilled labour.

In the " Professionalny Vestnik " of October, 1918, there is an article by Bakhutoff who says that at the beginning of 1918—according to fragmentary statistics—there were 100,000 unemployed. The number increased considerably from March to May, and again the number fell, getting better towards autumn. In Moscow the unemployed were 5·2 per cent. of the population, in Petrograd 7·8 per cent.

According to certain data 40 per cent. of the unemployed registered at the Labour Exchange received employment. The others were sent to the grain districts to do agricultural work. In October, 1918, there is an insufficiency of men labourers, building workers and skilled workmen in the towns, as owing to the scarcity of food they go to the country districts.

The unemployment insurance fund, according to this article, is working well—indeed, the 30,000,000 roubles given by the State have not been touched.

For the year 1919 we have most conflicting testimony as to the number of unemployed. Mr. W. T. Goode, in " Bolshevism at Work," p. 65, says : " Unemployment generally is a thing unknown in the Soviet

Republic; in cases of workmen being out of work, they are fitted with employment by the appropriate State Department." This, he confirms in a letter of 11 March, 1920, where he says as to unemployment: "None when I was there, that is, up to the end of August, 1919."

On the other hand, Arthur Ransome in "Six Weeks in Russia in 1919," p. 24, speaks of the "unloading" of Petrograd of part of its population owing to the unemployment due to the closing of works and factories.

At a meeting of the Executive Committee of the Petrograd Soviet ("Bulletin Périodique de la Presse Russe," No. 79, November, 1919), Kotliakoff, President of the Council of Popular Economy made a declaration showing the necessity for closing a series of factories owing to lack of fuel, thus depriving over 12,500 people of work. Ivanoff, Commissary of Labour, proposed distributing the men thus without work among other industries, whilst proposing to the women to leave Petrograd within a month.

We find the same state of affairs in Moscow ("Economitsheskaya Jizn," No. 287, of 21 December, 1919). Over 9,000 textile workers are being paid though doing nothing.

This must therefore be taken into account when reading figures as to the number of unemployed in Soviet Russia.

This is the sum total of our information on unemployment in Russia. Authentic statistics are entirely wanting. We are in ignorance as to the working of the sections for the distribution of manual labour, what is the position of the unemployed with regard to rationing, etc.

The recent application of compulsory labour must have had a decided effect on unemployment. What these effects are our data do not tell us, nor do they enable us to give a definite opinion on the subject.

CHAPTER V.

HOME WORK.

Similarly we have been able to obtain but occasional and fragmentary information about homework, which formerly represented an extremely important proportion of Russian production.

"Kustarniki" existed in all agricultural centres, and the goods produced by them have been frequently displayed in the principal European capitals.

What remains of these typical industries of the Russian peasantry?

The Bolsheviks certainly do not look with great favour upon this kind of work. In their eyes the "Kustarniki" stand for a class of small employers who manage to avoid State control; nevertheless this control exists.

Indeed, V. Jakutoff writes in an article which appeared in the "Economicheskaja Jisn" of 18 December, 1919, under the heading: "Under what control should home work be placed?"

"As is well known, home work is, on the one hand, put under the control of the various sections, central directorates and centres of the Supreme Council of Public Economy and the sections dealing with production of the local Government Councils of Public Economy, whose work is co-ordinated by the Home Work Administration of the Supreme Council of Public Economy; on the other hand, it is put under the home work section of the Commissariat of Agriculture, which also has local sections and is proceeding to create them where they do not already exist.

The Governing Council of the Supreme Council of Public Economy having noted the fact that the Direc-

torate of Co-operative Home Work was concerned in this problem, decided that this duplication of control must be terminated by combining the control of home work under one section within the Supreme Council of Public Economy, and that, with this object, the home work sections of the Commissariat of Agriculture should be abolished."

After discussing the question of the irregularity of such a state of things, the writer adds :

" We have no doubt whatever that amalgamation of the sections of the Supreme Council of Public Economy and of the Commissariat of Agriculture dealing with home work will give the best results. Local work will take on a more organised character and in this way a uniformity of method in the administration of home work will be secured."

Thus, according to this article, home work which was formerly under two different authorities—the Supreme Council of Popular Economy and the Commissariat of Agriculture—would thenceforward be under one single authority created by the amalgamation of the two former ones.

On the whole, it certainly seems that the Soviet system has not been too favourable to the development of home work, judging at any rate from an article by B. Taratuta which appeared in the above-mentioned paper (No. 271 of 3 December, 1919). The writer of this article was travelling with Commissar Kalinin by special train on a tour of inspection through Russia ; with regard to certain governments (such as those of Toula, Simbirsk, etc.) he remarks that " owing to difficulties created by the authorities in the payment for home work, and especially through the constant shortage of workers, home work is continually decreasing."

As for regulating this work, according to the " Petro-

gradskaia Pravda " of 24 September, 1918, it comes under the same rules as any other industrial enterprise as far as working hours are concerned ; that is to say, the working day may not exceed 8 hours.

Now that the working day is officially fixed at 10 hours, has this measure been made to apply to home work also ?

We have no documentary evidence on this point.

Several questions might be asked on this subject of home work. In what conditions do these small producers live ? May they freely sell their work or is it requisitioned by the State ? Whether or not, is the remuneration received in excess of or inferior to that obtained by the worker in a nationalised industry ? What are the workers' sentiments towards the Bolshevik *régime* ? These questions are unanswerable from the documents in our possession.

CHAPTER VI.

SOCIAL INSURANCE.

The important question of Social Insurance is one of those on which we have almost no documentary evidence. This is explainable either by the difficulty of this subject itself and the necessity of technical knowledge to be able to speak on it or perhaps by the Bolshevik conception of assurance which tends towards eliminating the very notion of insurance and substituting in its place the right of every citizen to a means of livelihood according to his obligation to work.

When the Bolsheviks seized power in Russia, they found a very imperfectly developed system of social insurance, for in this respect the Russian workmen's legislation had remained notoriously backward in comparison to the other European legislations.

Actually only two laws were in existence—that of 1912 and that of 1917, which was promulgated after the revolution. According to the law of 1917 social insurance did not include commercial employees, servants, railwaymen and transport workers and home workers. It further merely applied to cases of accident and illness.

Half the payment was discharged by the workmen.

Since 1913, one sees amongst the demands of the workmen a reform of the system of social insurance on the following basis :

The inclusion of all workmen without exception.

Extension of insurance to all cases of loss of capacity to work.

A minimum pension and indemnity according to the cost of living.

All payments to be exclusively charged to the employer.

Administration of the insurance fund to be confided exclusively to the workmen.

These claims naturally remained a dead letter until the Bolshevik Revolution.

Their first care was to announce a vast programme of legislation on the subject of social insurance.

Indeed, the paper "Pravda" of 30 October-11 November, 1917 (that is to say, a few days only after it had been taken over by the Bolsheviks) published a statement by the government on social insurance.

It is interesting to reproduce it entirely because it gives us the fundamental lines of the initial programme outlined by the Bolsheviks at the moment they took the power into their hands.

"The Russian proletariat has taken as its motto the complete social insurance of salaried workers as well as the poor in the towns and villages. The government of the Czar, proprietors and capitalists, as well as the government of conciliation and coalition have not realised the claims of the workers on this subject.

"The workmen's and peasants' government, following the advice of the soviets of workmen, soldiers' and peasants' deputies, announces to the Russian working classes and to the poor in the towns and villages that it will immediately prepare decrees concerning social insurance based on the reforms proposed by the workers:

"(1) Insurance for all salaried workers without exception, as well as for the poor in the towns and villages.

"(2) To extend insurance to all kinds of loss of capacity to work, principally in the case of

illness, infirmity, age, pregnancy, widowhood and the death of parents, as well as for unemployment.

- “ (3) All expenses to be charged to the employers.
- “ (4) Compensation, all the salary at least, in case of incapacity to work or of unemployment.
- “ (5) The complete autonomy of the insured in all the organisations of insurance.”

This programme recognises very faithfully the claims of the Bolshevik party during the Czarist *régime*.

The insurance ought to include all cases of loss of capacity to work, and ought to extend to all salaried workers without exception, including even the peasants, or at least peasants of a certain category, those whom the Bolsheviks call “ the peasant proletariat ” and of whom they tried at the commencement of their *régime* to make a support against the rich and moderately rich agricultural proprietors.

The second principle is that the insurance expenses ought to be entirely supported by the employer.

It was a sufficiently heavy charge imposed on industry, and, as we know, the masters protested energetically against it. Also it is believed that the measure was regarded by the latter more as a retaliation against the middle classes than as a homage to the theoretical principles of socialism.

In any case, we shall see, that when the State makes itself master, by socialisation of industry, it will take on itself all the expenses of the insurance.

A third important principle is the indemnity to be paid to the insured. It is fixed at a minimum equivalent to the salary of the insured. This principle also carries with it grave consequences to industry, of which we shall speak later; but it will be seen that the principles have not been pushed to extremities.

The last principle touches the organisation of

insurance. It answers to the initial Bolshevistic conception of the workman's rôle in industry.

In the same manner that control of the worker was organised in the first period of Bolshevik *régime*, under a pure syndical form and independent of the central power, thus social insurance is conceived "syndically" by a series of funds, sustained by professional unions, independent of each other, and all equally independent of the central power. And as the control in the initial form is destined to disappear under the centralising action of the State, so the self-government of insurance will give way to an organisation of a united state, in which all self-government must dissolve and disappear.

LEGISLATION.

The programme mentioned above is applied by a series of decrees and orders, either of a general or a particular character. Unfortunately we only possess very few texts of the decrees and orders promulgated, and it is practically certain that the list of these acts of the government which have come to us is very incomplete.

The following is the list :

- (1) Decree on insurance against unemployment, 28 November-11 December, 1917.
- (2) Decree on insurance against illness, 22 December-4 January, 1918.
- (3) Decree on indemnities for incapacitation, published 27 January, 1918.
- (4) Ordinance on payments to the unemployment funds, published 30 January, 1918.
- (5) Decree on pensions and relief, published 8 March, 1918.

- (6) Ordinance on application of rules relative to insurance against unemployment and illness, published 7 August, 1918.
- (7) Ordinance on creation of the judiciary section of the social insurance funds of Petrograd, published 16 August, 1918.
- (8) Ruling on the participation of factories and establishments of Petrograd in the workman's Petrograd fund of social insurance, and on the manner of payment of insurance premiums.
- (9) Decree on the social insurance of workers, of 31 October, 1918.

We, unfortunately, have not the text of the last, which, it seems, is the most important, but a summary of its principal provisions is to be found in the "Bulletin of the Social Insurance Section and the Protection of Work," by the Commissariat of Labour (No. 2-5 of 1919).

For the year 1919, not a single text of law, not even the smallest indication of governmental activity, is noted in the field of social insurance, so that even the results of the decree of 31 October are enveloped in the most complete obscurity. We shall, however, recapitulate what evidence we have, and classify it in the usual order.

GENERAL ADMINISTRATIVE ORGANISATION.

(a) *Central Authority.*

As we have already remarked in the chapter concerning the Organisation of the Labour Commissariat, the Commissariat of Social Welfare was transformed in April, 1918, into a Commissariat of Social Insurance.

Later on, probably about August of the same year, this Commissariat was joined to the Labour Commissariat and became its special section of social Insurance and protection of Labour.* According to an article of V. A. Zenkovitch entitled "Social Insurance and Labour Protection. Its Organisation, Duties and Work" (Bulletin of the Section of Social Insurance, etc. No. 2-3, p. 53), this section, it appears, is made up of the following sub-sections :

- (1) Organisation and Management of Insurance Funds.
- (2) Financial.
- (3) Medicine and Hygiene with sub-sections :
 - (a) Medical assistance, and
 - (b) Sanitary and hygienic assistance.
- (4) Technical.
- (5) Labour Inspection.

The first sub-section is for the purpose of controlling the operations of the Insurance Funds, for estimating the cost of the various kinds of insurance and for specifying in what measure the Insurance Funds are capable of meeting the requirements of Social Insurance.

The technical section, which formerly had an autonomous existence in the Commissariat of Social Welfare, is for the protection of labour from a standpoint of technical conditions as well as for the inspection of boilers, and all things concerning labour in relation to production. In addition, this section will be the centre of all labour inspection.

* This fusion appears to have been effectively carried out only at the end of 1919. Miliutin, President of the All-Russian Council of Trade Unions, was called on, it appears, to manage the new department. (See "Economičeskaya Jizn," 30 December, 1919.)

Zenkovitch does not explain the functions of the other sub-sections, for example that of the Labour Inspection, the functions of which would appear to duplicate those of the technical section.

It must be noted that the article is dated 3 September, 1918, and that we ignore whether the new law of 31 October reconstructed the organisation of the Commissariat. Indeed, according to an article of Mme. Kollontay inserted in a Swedish publication called "Det röda Ryssland" and published at the beginning of 1919, it would appear that the sub-sections of Social Insurance are the following :

Children's institutes, maternity, unemployment, casual indemnities, disabled soldiers, old age pensions, help to victims of the counter-revolution, pensions to ex-soldiers of the Red Army and their families.

This enumeration is certainly incomplete, and quite irreconcilable with that of Zenkovitch.

On the other hand, from Helfer's article, published in the same Bulletin (above mentioned), it would appear that the sub-section of Hygiene and medical assistance was for formulating the orders necessary for the sections of hygiene and medical assistance attached to the funds of general insurance and to study the special questions of hygiene concerning workers' insurance. It was to work hand in hand with the medical section of social insurance attached to the Commissariat of Public Hygiene.

Finally, according to a notice published in the "Economičeskaya Jizn" of 30 December, 1919, the Social Insurance section is divided into four sub-sections : (1) Pensions and subsidies, (2) Establishment and utilisation of labour, (3) Protection of maternity and childhood, (4) Control and inspection. The staff will consist of about 300. The department was preparing

a code of laws on social welfare, destined to unite all the laws and decrees promulgated up to the end of 1919 concerning social welfare. It was occupied in revising the schedule of insurance premiums and the principles of social welfare in order to put them in agreement with the general economic policy of the Soviets and Trade Unions.

How does the Section of Social Insurance work? What powers has its Director? What regard is paid to elective elements?

Here again we are in the dark. Zenkovitch (who when he wrote the article was Director of this Section) tells us that he was assisted by a Council consisting of the chiefs of the various sub-sections and an equal number of representatives of the Central All-Russian Council of the Trade Unions and of the workers' group of the Insurance Council. But we do not know if the law of 31 October made any changes in this, although it seems quite probable. It must, for example, have suppressed the Council of Social Insurance which was an organ of bourgeois origin.

However, according to an article in the "Bulletin of the Section of Social Insurance and Protection of Labour" (No. 5), it appears that on 26 October, 1918, a meeting of the central Council of Russian Trade Unions took place at Moscow at which the representatives of the Trade Unions of Moscow and Petrograd were present.

Among the resolutions unanimously passed at this meeting are the following:

- "(1) A section for social insurance which will centralise social insurance for all Russia must be formed in connection with the Labour Commissariat. A council will be formed to manage this section, and will be elected by the Central All-Russian Council of Trade Unions.

- “(2) Sections and similar councils will be formed in connection with the local bodies of the Labour Commissariat. This will be done by the local councils of the Trade Unions.
- “(3) All the Trade Unions must take a direct part in the organisation and administration of social insurance by means of special bodies created for that purpose which will be subordinate to the central superior organs of social insurance.
- “(4) The Council of Workers' Insurance will be abolished.

“The Commissariat for social insurance must cease to exist in an autonomous manner, its activities and organisation must be included in the organisation and activities of the Social Insurance Section of the Labour Commissariat and its sub-sections.

“The meeting authorises the Directorate of the Central All-Russian Council of Trade Unions and the Directorates of the Councils of Moscow and Petrograd Trade Unions to take all necessary steps to bring into operation, by means of the decree of the Council of Peoples' Commissaries, the new law on universal social insurance.”

How far were these measures accepted by the Government? Several of them seem to have been adopted, notably points 1 and 4. But it is impossible to find out if the Trade Unions were conceded the importance they claimed in the administration of social insurance.

Finally, it is not without interest to recapitulate briefly the work which the section of social insurance and protection of labour was accomplishing at the moment of the promulgation of the law of 31 October. Zenkovitch informs us thereof in his article already mentioned.

In the first place, the section takes a very active part in the elaboration of the said law, which has in

view the general compulsory insurance of all workers. This appears to have been its fundamental work from its very beginning. It also elaborated the decree of 7 August, 1918, which introduced compulsory insurance in all state and nationalised enterprises.

A series of questions on the application of general compulsory insurance in private enterprises was also left to it to solve. It elaborated and promulgated the law concerning disabled soldiers of the Red Army and their families. Other measures were prepared in connection with old age pensions, revision of premiums and the formation of a technical actuarial office.

The Section works out, furthermore, the decree on the Inspection of Labour, and formed, attached to the Commissariat, the Council of Labour Inspection, which was composed of various branches of inspection whose duties were to furnish the labour inspectors (who were for the most part workmen devoid of all technical knowledge) with technical data necessary for their work.

The Section also compiled a list of unhealthy industries under the rules adopted by the workmen's congresses. It also worked out the rules for child welfare (food, schools, especially subsidised trade schools) and for miners. It also set to work on the formation of national anti-unemployment funds, on the formation of a statistical department in connection with the Labour Commissariat and with the establishment of communications with the medical section of insurance attached to the Commissariat of Public Hygiene.

Finally, this section undertook the publication of a special bulletin and of a great quantity of propaganda destined to circulate the general principles on which the new law on general insurance was based, and to facilitate its application to the peasants, to the co-operatives (artels) and in general to all the workers without exception.

(b) *Local Authorities.*

Zenkovich tells us in the article aforementioned that the local organs of the Social Insurance Section must be the sub-sections of labour sections attached to local Sovdeps, *i.e.*, soviets of peasants and workmen's deputies.

The sub-sections must be organised on the same lines adopted for the section.

These sub-sections appear to have been created at the same time as the section, but their action was only regulated after the law of 31 October, 1918.

Furthermore, probably in November, 1918 (although the exact date is unknown to us), we get "The Ruling on sub-sections for social insurance and labour protection attached to local Sovdeps." In December, 1918, a circular of Bakhutoff (chief of the new section of social insurance) lays down the rules for the liquidation of pre-existing insurance funds; and finally a decree, dated 5 December, 1918, signed by the Labour Commissary, gives us information both on the composition of the new section of Social Insurance and on the amalgamating of insurance institutions with the new body.

From all these measures the following results: The new section of the Labour Commissariat for social insurance and labour protection will be the supreme body for social insurance (art. 1, decree 5 December, 1918).

It will be controlled by a Council elected by the All-Russia Council of Trade Unions and approved by the Labour Commissary (art. 2 of the same decree).

The local organs for the application of the social insurance law will be the sub-sections for social insurance and labour protection attached to the labour sections of the local Sovdeps (art. 3, *ibid.*).

All the functions and funds of local institutions for

insurance, such as sick funds, general insurance funds, miners' co-operative societies, co-operative and pension funds, mutual savings banks, anti-unemployment savings banks, and all other like funds will pass to the new section (art. 5). The insurance organisations and pension funds will continue to function while preparing to come under the new organisation (art. 6).

The conditions laid down in this passage were successively dealt with by the circular mentioned above (December, 1918).

To insure the realisation of local social insurance and protection of labour, sub-sections of social insurance and protection of labour will be formed under the labour sections of the local Sovdeps.

These sub-sections will be formed in districts, provinces (gubernias) and regions where regional sections (commissariats) of labour exist (art. 1 of the Ruling of November, 1918). This same article forbids the formation of sub-sections smaller than district sub-sections, but admits in case of necessity that special bureaux may be opened in populated localities for the distribution of indemnities and for the reception of premiums.

The sub-sections must see to the application of the law of 31 October, 1918, and of all other laws and decrees on social insurance and labour protection. The provincial and regional sub-sections must also direct the activities of the district sub-sections, give the necessary orders for the formation of such sub-sections and for the foundation of insurance works directed by them (such as houses for the disabled, schools, sanatoria, shops, laboratories, special clinics, instructional institutes, etc.). Besides this they must furnish all explanations in furtherance of the application of the law, decide all controversies, transmit the orders of the central authorities, and in a general manner collaborate in the co-ordination and unification

of all matters of social insurance (art. 2 of the same ruling).

The sub-sections will be managed by Councils composed of 11 members in the case of district sub-sections and 15 members in other cases. These members will be elected by the local Trade Union Councils. Where such Councils do not exist the election will be carried out by assemblies composed of a certain number of representatives of the Trade Unions, proportional to the number of their members. These assemblies will be convened by the local sections of labour of the Sovdep.

All candidates elected must in every case be confirmed by the Labour Sections (art. 3 of same ruling).

The sub-section will choose a Governing Body of three persons: a president, a vice-president and a secretary. This composition is, however, not compulsory.

They (the sub-sections) may also classify themselves in a certain number of offices, such as:

- (1) Health.
- (2) Pensions and relief.
- (3) Relief in kind.
- (4) Premiums.
- (5) Organisation and instruction.
- (6) Social protection of labour.
- (7) Statistics.
- (8) Administration.
- (9) Staff.

Article 4.

The other articles contain resolutions on the relationship between district sub-sections and provincial and regional ones, from which it is clear that the first are directly dependent on the second and these on the third, which in their turn are in direct dependence on the Social Insurance Section of the Labour Commissariat (art. 6).

The sub-sections of districts, provincial and regional, are equally under the control of the local labour sections of Sovdeps, to whom they must immediately communicate their decisions (art. 7).

From the foregoing it appears that the application of the law on social insurance is vested in a hierarchy of organs elected by the Trade Unions but strictly supervised by the central authority (the Labour Commissariat) on the one side, and on the other by the Sovdep, *i.e.*, the soviets of workers' and peasants' delegates.

The labour sections of these soviets, which have been mentioned in the decrees and rulings on social insurance, were created by a decree bearing the number 56 in the "Collection of Decrees of the Workers' and Peasants' Government." The exact date is unknown to us, but it was probably about the end of October, 1918. This decree provides for the formation of local labour sections, subordinate to the general management and orders of the Commissariat of working people and functioning according to the regional labour sections (art. 2).

According to art. 4, governmental (provincial) sections and also district sections were created. The sections are run by managers elected by the local councils of workers' and peasants' deputies in agreement with the Trade Union Councils and with the approbation of the People's Labour Commissariat.

These managers are aided by committees of responsible workmen elected by the councils of workers' and peasants' deputies in agreement with the Trade Union Councils (arts. 6 and 7).

Art. 10 of the decree enumerates their functions, which are very numerous, and among which under letter "i" is mentioned "the supervision of the execution of decrees and legislative dispositions of the Labour Commissariat as well as the laws concerning

labour protection, labour inspection and social insurance."

Thus there is, it would appear, a direct co-operation between the political organs (Sovdep) and the purely union organs (Trade Unions) under a strict supervision and management of the Labour Commissariat.

Not only is this supervision carried out directly by branches of the Labour Commissariat (local sections of the Commissariat); but it is also accomplished by labour inspectors.

The decree on labour inspection (published in the "Izvestia" of 31 July, 1918, No. 161) provides for the formation of a corps of labour inspectors of both sexes. Among their other duties they have to supervise "the execution of the law on social insurance and the pay-books." (Art. 6.)

No. 4 of § 10 of Chapter VII of the same decree orders them likewise to observe "if the law for the protection of maternity is being carried out." Chapter XI and XII of the same decree (§ 15-18) charges them with the regular registration of accidents, and with ascertaining if the letter of the Social Insurance Law is being carried out relative to sickness, loss of working capacity, unemployment and all other possible issues; whether the subscriptions are regularly paid and if the deductions on salaries are regularly retained.

According to art. 129 of the Labour Code (1919), the labour inspectors, men and women, are chosen by the Trade Union Councils according to the rules laid down by the Labour Commissariat.

They communicate either with the local sections of the Commissariat or directly with the Commissariat itself.

By art. 127 of the same Code we know that there are also technical inspectors and representatives of sanitary inspection who form part of the Commissariat of Public Hygiene, but we do not know what duties they have in regard to social insurance.

From all this it is evident that a colossal bureaucratic machine has been erected by the decree of 31 October, 1918, and by the rulings which insure its application.

It would be really interesting to know how the machine works in actuality, and what is really the rôle played by the Trade Unions, and what is their real relationship to the Sovdep. Furthermore, it would be interesting to know the part really played by the working masses in all this.

For the moment unfortunately these queries remain unanswered, owing to all documents in our hands being void of all information in this regard, and therefore rendering us unable to express any opinion.

FINANCIAL ORGANISATION.

(a) *Insurance Funds.*

In general we are lacking in general information as to everything concerning social insurance in Bolshevik Russia, and this information is still more scanty when we study the financial organisation decreed by the law of 31 October, 1918. The following, however, is some indication given by A. Helfer, in his article on the law (Bulletin, p. 6 and following).

The law provides for the constitution of local insurance funds with a single management, *i.e.*, the All-Russian Insurance Centre. There are also town and district local funds. The Sovdep or the local Council of Trades Unions, or a special group, is to be the initiator in their foundation. The Sovdep, or the Council, or the Group, must call an assembly of all persons subject to insurance, or if this is impossible, of their representatives. This assembly elects an

Organisation Bureau. The names of the members of this Bureau are to be communicated to the Labour Section of the local Sovdep, which has the power of controlling their actions. The law of 31 October defines in detail the rights and obligations of the Bureau, which, in order to meet its expenses, has the right to exact from the enterprises within the zone of its operations a sum not above 3% of the monthly wages of the employees or workmen of these enterprises.

At the end of its labours the Bureau calls a meeting of the Constituent Assembly, to which it renders account of its activities and as to the money in hand. The Assembly elects a Governing Body. From this moment the Insurance Fund is considered as founded. All the local funds and other insurance organisations, of whatever description they may be, must, within a period of not more than six months, join the Insurance Fund, and pass over to it all their current affairs and their property. We have already seen that a circular of December, 1918, regulates the method of this handing over.

According to Helfer, every person subject to insurance takes part in the election of the Fund's Administration and is a member of the Fund itself. He can only be deprived of this right for two reasons—

- (1) The transfer to another Fund ;
- (2) A change in his social position, *i.e.*, if he ceases to be a worker supporting himself by his own labour.

The Administration of the Funds is therefore composed in the following fashion: One-half of the members is chosen by the All-Russian Congress of the insured, and the other is nominated by the local Trades Union and by the Commissariat for Labour, in equal proportions.

The Insurance Funds, according to the same article,

should exercise their activity, especially in the matter of prophylaxy and protection of labour by every means in their power. Their functions are described in the following manner :

- (a) Organisation of medical assistance in all its forms, without any exception ;
- (b) Inspection of premises and all labour conditions, and elaboration of compulsory regulations as to hygiene and prevention of accidents ;
- (c) Payment of indemnities and pensions of every description whether in money or in kind ;
- (d) Propaganda of a cultural and educational character.

The law of 31 October seems to attach great importance to the medico-hygienic part of the Fund Administration. It obliges them to institute detailed inquiries into conditions of living and of labour, and into causes of illness and incapacitation and of mortality among the workers, and to prepare complete statistics on these subjects ; to see, in conjunction with the inspectors of labour, that the decrees on hygiene and prevention of illness and accidents are observed ; to take the necessary measures for improving the hygienic conditions of the workers' dwellings, and, finally, to establish medical and hospital assistance in all its forms. In order to fulfil these obligations the law envisages the constitution of medical and hygienic sections attached to the Fund Administration, composed of medical men, pharmacists, and of members of the Fund Administration. These sections themselves act according to instructions sent by the Medical and Hygienic Sub-Section of the Social Insurance Section which has been already mentioned.

In order to fix the degree of incapacitation in its different forms, the decree of 31 October provides for the creation of a Medical Expert Bureau composed of

specialists chosen by the Fund Administration or by the local Trades Union and of representatives of these unions. A special regulation gives the prescriptions according to which the Bureau should function. This Bureau will be spoken of in another part of this chapter.

(b) *The All-Russian Insurance Centre.*

The functions of this Organisation are, according to the new law of 31 October, to direct and control in a general way the activities of all the Insurance Funds and to decide on all questions which may arise in the course of insurance operations.

The composition of this Centre corresponds to that of the Fund Administrations, *i.e.*, that half the members are elected by the All-Russian Insurance Congress (whose composition and method of convocation are unknown to us), and the other half is formed of delegates of the Central Committee of Trades Unions and of the Commissariat for Labour in equal parts. The All-Russian Insurance Centre must also establish the methods according to which the enterprises must furnish necessary information to the Insurance Fund Administrations. Similar methods will be edicted by it for the co-operatives, "artels," and for persons practising a liberal profession or working at home.

The Judicial Section is constituted as part of this Centre for the purpose of deciding finally on all controversies arising on questions of social insurance. The decision of the Section is final, and consequently these controversies are outside the competence of the ordinary judicial authority.

We know nothing about the relations between the Centre and the Social Insurance Section of the Commissariat for Labour. The latter has naturally the

supreme direction of all insurance matters. But what degree of autonomy is given to the Centre with regard to the Section, and to the Fund Administrations with regard to the Centre? On this we have no information.

(c) *Insurance Monies of the All-Russian Centre and of the Fund Administrations.*

By a circular of December, 1918, special Liquidation Commissions were created composed of representatives of the local sub-sections of the Social Insurance Section and of representatives of the institutions to be liquidated.

What was done with these monies? On what basis was the financial organisation of social insurance regulated?

Rogozhsky, in the article already mentioned several times, says that the decree of 31 October established a general type of insurance organisation without making any distinction between the different forms of insurance. The decree, therefore, institutes a general all-round insurance by the constitution of a common national fund.

It would appear also that, as social insurance is considered as a State function, the State should prevent the formation of private professional funds, and we see indeed that art. 3 (remark 1) of the ordinance of 7 August, 1918, forbids the founding of private insurance funds by separate professional groups of workers. This principle appears to have been maintained by the decree of 31 October, 1918. It is true that in the above-mentioned article Rogozhsky insists several times that the decree did not limit in any way the liberties of the workers. But, says he, the old *narrow* organisation of insurance funds was beneficial to only 30 or 40 % of the workers at most, whilst the new organisa-

tion embraces all the workers. What do they mean by speaking of *autonomy* of labour organisations? says he. They mean simply *separatism*. The old organisations were useful during the struggle between workers and employers, but now of what use would they be? Is not all the power in the hands of the workers and peasants? Have they not the direction of the whole economic life of the country? Who wishes and is able to destroy the autonomy of the masses? Only those who during this year were always opposed to the creation of a complete system of social insurance, and who would like to return to a Kerensky *regime*, those who always fought against the power of the soviets.

The principle of financial centralisation appears then to have triumphed with the law of 31 October, 1918.

The following are some indications given to us by Helfer on the methods of organisation. These methods are, it would seem, regulated partly by the law itself and partly by a new law on the All-Russian Funds of social insurance, which, however, appears to have been in a state of project when Helfer's article was published. We do not know if the project ultimately became law.

All the existing funds destined for insurance purposes form an All-Russian Insurance Fund. All the receipts and all the means at the disposal of the local funds are considered as part of this fund, and are to be transferred to the current account of the All-Russian Centre, which will have the general administration of them. All the insurance premiums and, in general, all payments made by enterprises or individuals for social insurance purposes are to be paid in to the local branch of the People's Bank, even if an insurance fund exists on the spot. These payments are to be placed to the credit of the account of the All-Russian Centre.

Enterprises or individuals, when making a payment, must produce a list of wages paid with indication as to

what percentage has been paid on each salary and for each sort of insurance. These lists should be certified by the Workers' Control Committee and, in places where this Committee does not exist, enterprises must produce to the Labour Sections or to the Insurance Fund Administrations the pay-books of the workers to be noted accordingly. At the same time the said enterprises or individuals must give to the local Insurance Fund Administration all information necessary to enable it to control the payments, and they must allow delegates of the administration access at all times to the factory for verification of the books, copying of documents, interrogation of workers, etc.

If at the end of the year the payments made are not sufficient to cover all the expenses, the All-Russian Centre has the right to demand supplementary payments on the basis of a new tariff of premiums which the Fund Administrations should immediately elaborate.

The Fund Administration should submit their estimates to the All-Russian Centre six months in advance, specifying the receipts and the expenses for each sort of insurance. The Centre gives to the Fund Administrations the respective amounts by transferring them to the credit of their account at the local branch of the People's Bank.

The Fund Administrations can only have in hand small sums within limits agreed upon between them and the local Labour Section of the Sovdep.

They must spend the credits opened according to the estimates; the transfer of same from one chapter of the Budget to another is forbidden as a general rule, it can, however, be allowed in exceptional cases and provisionally by the All-Russian Centre. The Fund Administrations submit their accounts for the approval of the All-Russian Centre at least once a year. A general inspection of their operations will be made at

least twice a year, and the financial part of this inspection will be placed before the Assembly of the delegates of the All-Russian Centre. In this way the Centre is in a position to know at every moment the sums at the disposal of the different Fund Administrations and the detailed situation of its own funds.

(d) Resources of the Insurance Fund Administrations and of the All-Russian Centre.

According to Helfer the new law of 31 October provides for three different sources of receipts for insurance funds :

- (a) Insurance premiums paid by the enterprises, the employers and all the individuals subject to insurance.
- (b) Tax on inheritance with which it is proposed to meet insurance expenses in case of death.
- (c) Fines imposed for violation of insurance law or for delay in payment of premiums.

In view of the nationalisation of all industries, which is to be applied to a degree more and more complete, it is to be foreseen, says Helfer, that in the future the greater part of the premiums will be paid by the State. At the same time, as fines are not imposed in the case of nationalised enterprises, this source also will in time disappear completely.

In the following parts of the chapter we shall speak of the different sorts of insurance premiums ; for the moment it is to be noted that we have no information regarding the tax on inheritance provided for by the law. According to this law the All-Russian Centre will have the duty of fixing the methods of taxation ; we do not know, however, if the Centre has started on this work or not. In any case this source also is of a transitory nature, seeing that the Bolshevik

legislation provides for the gradual suppression of all heritage, or at least tends to render it almost impossible.

(e) *Application of the Law on Organisation of Social Insurance.*

In this respect we are completely in the dark, and it is impossible to say to what extent the law has been applied.

It would be interesting, for example, to know up to what point the Bolshevik Government has succeeded in realising the concentration of the different insurance organisations existing before the passing of the law, for it has principally been on this point that the controversy between the Bolsheviks and their opponents was most lively. The adversaries, amongst whom is Miliutin, insisted principally on the maintaining and on the autonomy of the insurance funds existing in the different Trades Unions before the passing of the law. The suppression of these funds naturally deprived the unions of one of their principal functions and subordinated them entirely to the Bolshevik administration. However, we have not the slightest indication as to what really happened in this matter. Thus, for example, at Petrograd, a workers' social insurance fund existed which dealt with insurance in the northern region. On 10 October a decree signed by the Commissary for Labour of the region and by the Director (the same Miliutin mentioned above), published in the "Severnaya Kommuna," promulgates detailed regulations in regard to participation of the benefits of the insurance funds of the Petrograd establishments. But did this fund continue to exist after the law of 31 October? Was it transformed into an insurance fund on the basis fixed by the law as were other analagous institutions?

We are unable to give any answer whatsoever to these questions.

GENERAL PRINCIPLES OF SOCIAL INSURANCE.

Rogozhsky in his article tells us that the decree of 31 October has established the principle of compulsory State Insurance for all workers without distinction, including artisans working at home, and even for agricultural labourers. Madame Kollontay also assures us that by the decree of 31 October, 1918, Social Insurance is extended to all workers without distinction of sex, nationality or profession, provided that they earn their living by their own work and do not exploit the labour of others. The worker benefits by insurance whether his labour is given in nationalised or in private industry. Insurance is extended to all forms of incapacitation whether permanent or temporary, whatever may be the cause—age (youth or old age), illness, accident, maternity or unemployment, provided the latter is not caused by the voluntary action of the unemployed. Insurance is extended also to the family of the worker in case of the decease of the latter.

Finally, A. Helfer tells us in his article on the new law of 31 October (Bulletin, paras. 2 and 3, p. 7) that the principles on which the said law is based are the following :

- (1) The purpose of the law is the insurance of those who live exclusively on the product of their own labour and of those who are dependent on them.
- (2) All those who are in the category provided for by para. 1, have a right to insurance in all cases of incapacitation (illness, old age, confinement or disablement), as well as in the case of unemployment, and in the case of death all persons dependent on them have an equal right.

- (3) Persons in the conditions indicated by para. 1 have a right to insurance independently of the character or of the length of the work and whether they work in State enterprises or in nationalised, social, private or limited companies, or whether they give individual service to individuals or whether they work for them autonomously.
- (4) The citizens of other states who satisfy conditions laid down by this law will also have the right to insurance.
- (5) The All-Russian Centre of Insurance establishes general rules for the application of the law as regards productions, co-operatives and *artels*.

The Bolshevik conception of insurance is more clearly seen in the Russian Code of Labour Laws, 1919. By art. 1 of this Code every citizen of the Russian Socialist Federative Republic is obliged to work except in the cases provided for in arts. 2 and 3. The exceptions are either permanent or temporary. The permanent exceptions are, age (less than 16 or more than 50 years) and absolute incapacitation as a result of accident or illness. The temporary exceptions are, temporary exceptions due to illness or accident, during the time necessary for a return to a normal state, and maternity during eight weeks before and after confinement. In all these cases the State must compensate for the loss of working capacity by paying citizens the wages fixed for the categories in which they are registered.

The obligation of labour imposed by the State brings with it as a consequence that all professional risks fall upon the State when the work is given to the State, and as all citizens are obliged to work, all become equally beneficiaries of insurance. The obligation of insurance and the transfer of risks to the employers are thus logical consequences of compulsory labour.

Another logical consequence is that the State must take on itself the charge of orphans or children who are without support until they arrive at the full development of their strength, which in this case means their education and everything which will increase their productivity, for the latter belongs to the State from the moment of the birth of the producer.

CLASSIFICATION OF LABOUR AND VALUATION OF LOSS OF WORKING CAPACITY.

In a system like this it is natural that great importance be attached to the fixing of the quality of labour given and the valuation of loss or diminution of working capacity on the part of the citizen.

Every citizen is classified in a group or in a definite category by a special, local or central Valuation Commission established by the Trades Unions concerned (arts. 60 and 61 of the Labour Code) ; each group or category has a fixed salary attached. This classification is spoken of in the chapter on wages.

The permanent or temporary loss of working capacity is also determined by medical expert bureaux instituted at the insurance offices of the district or of the province, or at the offices taking their place. Expert bureaux may also be organised at the hygienic section of the *Sovdep* (Appendix, art. 5 of the Labour Code). These bureaux are composed of experts, doctors or actuaries, and of representatives of the Trades Unions. Fairly detailed instructions are given to the bureaux in the above-mentioned Appendix and in the special regulation issued by the Section of Social Insurance, published on 8 October, 1918, as to the manner in which the examination of the insured person is to be conducted, as to the matters which must be taken into account when valuing losses of working capacity, etc. The result is communicated to the sub-section of social

insurance of the local *Sovdep*. Appeal may be made against decisions of the Bureau to the Commissariat of Public Health, which may order another examination of the individual (arts. 12 and 13 of the Appendix). This examination is final (art. 14). All the expenses incurred by the Bureau to be charged to the State.

In general, instructions are of quite a liberal trend, in so far that they admit of evidence, even indicative, on the part of the insured person, which may serve to establish unseen consequences of the accident or of the illness as affecting his capacity for labour. It might even be said that the information to be furnished by the bureaux of experts is too varied and difficult to establish. However, as we have no documents on the work of these bureaux it is impossible for us to say if the law has given good results in practice or if the bureaux have fulfilled the expectations of the legislator or, finally, if they favoured the interests of the Treasury as against those of the insured persons, or *vice versa*. In one word, the very essence of the law escapes us and we have only rules whose real application is absolutely unknown to us.

PAYMENT OF INSURANCE PREMIUMS.

We have already said that the communication of the Bolshevik Government of 29 October–11 November, 1917, on social insurance had put forward as a principle that all the expenses of insurance should be borne by the proprietors. In fact, the first decree on insurance (decree on Unemployment Insurance, 28 November–11 December, 1917, and decree on Insurance against illness, 22 December, 1917–4 January, 1918) obliged the employers to make the payments necessary to the respective funds within a week after payment of wages. The payment not effected in the period indicated can be recovered from the employers on the order of the

Commissary for Labour according to the procedure established for the local recovery of State debts. Besides, a fine was imposed on the employers of 10 % per month on the payments in arrears, counting every part of a month as a whole month. This fine was placed to the credit of the insurance fund.*

In the meantime as the State nationalised industries the number of private employers diminished. With complete nationalisation the employers were destined to disappear. The State consequently was obliged to make the payments of the insurance premiums in place of the employers. Consequently we see that the regulation issued on 7 August, 1918, by the Council of the People's Commissaries on the method of applying the rules as to insurance against unemployment and illness, whilst maintaining the above-mentioned dispositions in the case of the non-nationalised industries, puts forward new rules for the case of nationalised industries. In effect, by art. 3 of the order of 7 August, 1918, all State institutions and enterprises are obliged, in order to insure immediately the categories of workers afore-mentioned (*i.e.*, all workers and employees of State enterprises and institutions), to include in their estimates the sums corresponding to the paras. (a) and (b) of art. 2 of the present order (*i.e.*, insurance premiums which are calculated according to a certain percentage of the salaries). By art. 2 of the same decree the Supreme Council of National Economy and its regional Councils must see that these sums are included in the Budget of each enterprise, and in case of omission must order their inclusion. Whilst employers are liable to a fine of 10 % per month in case

* In certain cases, as for example at Petrograd, delay in the payment of premiums brought with it stoppage of all payments by the People's Bank of sums on the current account of the enterprises involved, which was equivalent to the stoppage of the whole enterprise.

of delay in payment the administrators of the State enterprises and institutions only incur " official responsibility " but no fine (art. 7, note).

These dispositions seem to have been respected by the decree of 31 October, 1918, but it would appear that there was some change in the penalties imposed for the violation of the law. This decree appears to have introduced punishments of a penal nature also for the insured person. The latter can indeed be deprived wholly or partially of the indemnity or of the pension in case of violation of the rules and instructions issued by the Insurance Fund Administration ; he may be prosecuted before the Courts in case of false declaration as to his wages or revenue. The employer, on the other hand, is liable to a fine of 10 % of the amount due in case of delay in payment, and he may be condemned to pay a fine of 100 to 1,000 roubles in the following cases : delay in furnishing information required by law, violation of the rules established for the prevention of illness and accidents, and admission of women to work during the first eight weeks after confinement. The Insurance Fund Administration fixes the amount of the fine to be paid, and the Labour Sub-Section of the Sovdep sees to its payment. In this case the procedure established for debts judicially certified is applied.

GENERAL RULES AS TO ASSISTANCE GIVEN BY THE FUND.

- (1) Loss of working capacity caused by illness or accident of a severe kind.
- (2) Chronic incapacitation (illness, accident or age).
- (3) Unemployment.
- (4) Maternity and nursing of children.
- (5) Death.

The general principles applying to all forms of insurance are, according to Helfer, the following :

The amount of the relief given is equal for the whole of Russia ; it should take the place of the wages lost, either wholly or partially. There is a minimum and a maximum of relief. The minimum is equal to the average salary of the unskilled workmen of the locality. The maximum cannot be more than double this average salary. The minimum aid is fixed by the All-Russian Insurance Centre, in agreement with the All-Russian Council of Trade Unions. Relief can be given either wholly or partially in money or in kind. In the latter case the Fund Administration may diminish the amount given below the minimum fixed by the law, but in no case can this new minimum be lower than two-thirds of the minimum paid to a family, or one-third in the case of an individual.

This last rule is of particular interest because it raises a whole series of questions as to the goods given in payment, the methods of valuing them, the relations thus created between the Social Insurance Section and the Commissary for Food, etc. It is also especially interesting in so far as it is part of the efforts made by the Bolsheviks to substitute completely payment in kind for payment in money, and to create a great "Consumption Co-operative" which will include the whole nation.

As we have no information as to the operation of the law, it is impossible to say with precision in what localities, and in what cases and to what degree, payment in kind takes the place of payment in money. We have also no information with regard to the minimum of indemnity paid, nor regarding the cases when the minimum becomes a maximum, nor as to the frequency of application of the maximum, etc. In one word, the results of the application of the law are completely unknown to us.

DIFFERENT FORMS OF INSURANCE.

We have already spoken of unemployment insurance in the chapter on unemployment. It is now necessary to give some details on the other forms of insurance provided for by Bolshevist legislation.

*(a) Incapacitation caused by Serious Illness
or Accident.*

This form of insurance resembles the insurance against illness and accident in force in Western countries. A decree had been already promulgated on this matter on 22 December, 1917 (4 January, 1918). According to this decree the insurance gives the right to medical assistance and pecuniary help. Medical assistance was given in the form of first aid, outdoor treatment, treatment in a hospital, thermal establishments at home, and also obstetric aid. It comprises also the gratuitous issue of medicine, special food, and of necessary medical accessories. Pecuniary help was given by the hospital funds and was supposed to be equal to the whole salary of the person affected, dating from the first day of loss of working capacity to the day of cure.

Payments made by the employers, who were the only supporters of the fund, were to be 10 % of wages and salaries paid by them to their workers and employees.*

A decree of 7 August, 1918, confirmed these prescriptions and applied them to nationalised industries. According to Helfer, the law of 31 October enacts that aid in case of illness was to be paid for each day of actual loss of work, not including Sundays and holidays, and that in case of illness which entailed interrup-

* This 10 %, however, included also all other forms of insurance except unemployment insurance.

tion of work, the payment was to be regulated by a General Assembly of the insured. It would appear that the amount of the premiums was not changed.

(b) *Permanent Incapacitation Caused by Age, Illness or Accident.*

With regard to this form of insurance, the "Izvestia" of 27 January, 1918, publishes a decree of the Commissary for Labour, which, amongst other, contains the following prescriptions:

A pension was to be given to workers having served at least five years in the enterprise, who were judged by medical authority to have lost their working capacity, and who had no other resources beyond the product of their own labour. The amount of the pension was, in cases of complete disablement, equal to the total salary of the insured man, on condition, however, that this sum was not more than the average annual salary for working men of the same category, and in cases of partial disablement was the fraction by which the salary decreased owing to the diminution in working capacity. In unhealthy industries a pension was given independently of the length of service in the enterprise.

A new law had to be passed in order to fix the amount of pension for permanent incapacitation of workers having less than five years' service in an enterprise. The decree did not fix the amount of the premium, but the law of 7 August, 1918, already mentioned, appears to enact that the payment of 10 % of the amount of salaries comprises the premium for all sorts of social insurance, except for unemployment. This is expressly stated by the Regulations of 10 October, 1918, on social insurance in the northern region.

As to the law of 31 October, 1918, we do not know

exactly what it prescribes with regard to insurance premiums, but it appears to have left intact the premium established by the decree of 7 August, 1918.

As to the amount of the pension, according to Helfer, the law of 31 October established a scale corresponding to the decrease of loss of working capacity, and no pension is given when the loss is less than 10 %. The law appears to have suppressed all differences depending on length of service in the case of pensions given for total incapacity. When incapacitation is total, the pension cannot exceed the average local salary of the unskilled working man. It would appear that the law allows the All-Russian Insurance Centre to authorise the Fund Administration to fix a lower minimum when the financial situation of the Fund demands it. This prescription is particularly interesting, for, by its interpretation, the application of the law could be entirely suspended. Helfer says also that when the insured person has means or a permanent salary, the pension is to be diminished, but that it cannot be lower than the minimum.

Special prescriptions regulate the case of disablement necessitating special assistance. The law requires that in this case the insured person be put into a hospital, which must give the necessary relief, and in case such a hospital does not exist, the pension is to be increased by the amount necessary to procure this assistance. The Insurance Fund Administrations have the right to put the invalid into a home. In this case his dependents will receive a pension amounting to what they would have received in case of his death. This pension can be also given to persons not of his family but dependent on him. The amount will be fixed by the All-Russian Centre of Insurance.

The degree of incapacitation is established by the Bureau of Experts of which we have already spoken.

The invalid has the right to demand a revision of the expert medical examination, but not more than once a year. The Fund Administration may also ask for a revision, but not more than twice a year. The invalid who falls ill must undergo treatment under pain of being deprived of the pension in case of unjustifiable refusal; however, the refusal to undergo a serious operation does not entail the loss of a pension. Finally, the law enacts that the pension shall date from the day on which the insured person has communicated the fact of his incapacitation to the Fund Administration. The above information is contained in the article by Helfer, and is in general confirmed by the article of Mrs. Kollontay published in the "Det Röda Ryssland."

(c) *Maternity.*

Maternity is considered from an insurance point of view as a sort of special illness, but it was not explicitly treated in the decrees of the Bolshevik Government previous to the law of 31 October, 1918, or at least we find no trace of any legislation on the point in the decrees published by Labry. Helfer tells us in the above-mentioned article that this law adopted for maternity a different system from that of other forms of insurance. The amount of the premium will not be on a percentage basis, but will be a fixed sum whose amount will be fixed by the All-Russian Centre and will be the same for all Russia. The indemnity is governed by the same rules as those for invalidity caused by illness. It will be paid during the eight weeks preceding confinement and the eight weeks following confinement. The fund may give to the insured person, besides the indemnity, a lump sum not exceeding twenty times the average wage of an unskilled worker of the locality. To mothers who nurse their own children the funds allow during seven

months an indemnity equal to the quarter of the wage of the insured person. The conditions for receiving this indemnity are : (1) actual loss of salary ; (2) the nursing of the child by the mother personally. On the other hand, Mrs. Kollontay states that if the mother is not a working woman, the indemnity is given only for a period of six weeks. It is not quite clear if this means a total of six weeks, or six weeks before and six weeks after confinement.

(d) *Death.*

Helfer tells us that in the case of the death of the insured person the fund will give to all the members of his family dependent on him—those incapable of work or minors—and also to all other persons otherwise dependent on him, a pension which will be equal to 40 % of the salary of the deceased if it is for one person, 75 % for two, and 100 % for three or more. The pension is paid from the day of the death of the insured person. The All-Russian Centre will fix by special agreement the rights and duties of the beneficiaries of the pension, and also the mode of payment.

Besides the pension the fund will allow a lump sum for funeral expenses. This sum will be equal to thirty times the minimum of the pension. Assistance may also be given for the interment of the members of the family. In this case it will be equal to ten times the minimum if the deceased had not yet reached the age of ten years, and twenty times the minimum in other cases. This payment will be made only in case the funeral expenses were really borne by the insured person.

A series of measures appears to have been passed for the protection of orphans, such as the placing of them in orphanages, the furnishing of milk, etc. These measures, however, are more of a charitable character than real social insurance.

Other measures of a transitory character were passed for war invalids having belonged to the Red Armies, and it would appear also for the invalids of the Great War as well as for the victims of counter-revolution. These measures, however, have on the whole a secondary importance.

RESULTS OF THE SYSTEM OF SOCIAL INSURANCE IN BOLSHEVIK RUSSIA.

On several occasions in the course of this chapter we have spoken of the lack of precise information on the application of the law of social insurance. We must here repeat the observation, and add that especially in this matter what is important is the manner of applying the law and the results obtained from it. It is not difficult to decree on paper general compulsory insurance and to grant—also on paper—generous assistance to the victims of illness, accident or old age. What is really difficult is to realise insurance without giving rise to inconveniences still more serious than those it is wished to avoid; without imposing on industry burdens beyond its strength; without encouraging idleness in the workers; or without taxing unjustly industrious workers in favour of the lazy ones, or one industry at the expense of another. It is certain that the concentration of all enterprises in the hands of the State facilitates, from a certain point of view, the extension of social insurance in the field of industry. There remain, however, all problems as to the peasants, problems which have an enormous importance in Russia, also the problem of labour habitation, etc.

We know absolutely nothing as to the calculations on which the Bolsheviks based their premium tariffs and their grants. We know nothing of the results, we do not even know if insurance funds were established

in conformity with the law of 31 October, 1918, whether they function or how they function, if the All-Russia Centre functions or, in general, whether the organisation provided for all Russia has given good or bad results.

Certain figures are available here and there from the Russian newspapers, but they are of no value outside a complete statistical study; however, we shall give them as an indication.

According to Mr. Kollontay the Insurance Section during the second half of 1918 granted in help 600 million roubles. The estimates for the first six months of 1919 were more than 2,000 millions. According to other information, on the contrary, this estimate was 1,619 million roubles.

According to the "Izvestia" of 7 November, the following is the table of the expenses of the Social Insurance Section :—

First half of 1918 ..	..	70,000,000 roubles.
Second half of 1918 ..	..	640,000,000 ..
First half of 1919 ..	..	2,169,181,000 ..
Second half of 1919 ..	..	7,571,064,000 ..

As we see, in between these figures the discrepancy is enormous.

According to the "Izvestia" of the same date, during the first six months of 1919, 84,183,502 roubles were spent for the protection of mothers and children. On 1 January, 1919, there were 1,500 orphanages, with more than 100,000 children; on 1 November the number had increased to 1,725 orphanages, with 134,902 children. Very large sums were spent on war invalids, and it is very natural that this item should be one of the heaviest in social insurance.

In general, the system of social insurance must have been subjected to heavy trials in Russia, where social disorder, illness, unemployment, had been rife during

the last two years. Has it surmounted the difficulties? Has it come up to the expectations of the governing classes or up to the hopes of the people? Has it been a really faithful expression of the Bolshevik conception? These are questions which can only be answered by inquiry on the spot.

CHAPTER VII.

COMPULSORY LABOUR.

Art. 18 of the Russian Constitution adopted on 10 July, 1918, by the Bolshevik Government proclaims the following principle :

“ The Russian Socialist Soviet Republic considers it the duty of every citizen of the Republic to work, and adopts as motto : ‘ He who does not work will not eat.’ ”

The principle thus formulated was in no way alarming ; the moral duty of work is recognised in every civilised country, and it is only as a moral duty that the obligation to work finds a place in the Russian Constitution.

Lately, however, the Bolshevik Government proclaimed a principle much more far-reaching. This principle is the following : Work is a social obligation, the State has the right to oblige the citizen to work and even to assign to him the work he must do, and to punish him if he does not obey. *Human labour is the property of the State.*

We should have wished to be able to follow the initial manifestations of this new theory of labour, but documents are lacking.

It would seem that in the first attempts at social reconstruction undertaken by the Bolsheviks the obligation to work had no place. It is true that some Bolsheviks contend that the Soviets only accepted what had been already put into practice during the reign of the Provisional Government. Thus Rykoff, in a speech at the 7th Congress of Soviets in December, 1918, says in reference to compulsory labour in the

transport of wood : " I must say that this idea is not new in Soviet Russia, for during the Government of Tseretelli and Kerensky a law was passed punishing the cessation of the work of preparation and transport of wood. From this we see that compulsory measures are not new, and their initiation is to be found in the period of the October Revolution." Thus, according to Rykoff, Kerensky's provisional government established a sort of obligatory work, at least for the cutting of wood.

But such an obligation was in any case confined to a certain work, which might from a certain point of view be considered to be of a military nature.

No document, however, tells us what was in reality the policy followed by the Bolsheviks on this point.

Lenin, writing immediately after the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk, in his pamphlet " Soviets at Work " (p. 19), says :

" The delay in introducing compulsory labour is another proof that the most urgent problem is precisely the preparatory organisation work, which on one hand, should definitely secure our gains, and which on the other hand, is necessary to prepare the campaign to ' surround capital ' and to ' compel its surrender.' The introduction of obligatory labour service should be started immediately, but it should be introduced gradually and with great caution, testing every step by practical experience, and, of course, introducing first of all obligatory labour service for the rich."

Already in this passage there is a step forward in comparison to the principle enounced in the constitution. In the latter the State refuses to feed those who will not work, in the former the State thinks it can oblige them to work.

But this is only a theoretical declaration; nobody thinks, as yet, of putting it into practice. The best proof of this is that in April and in June, 1918 (see "Izvestia," 19 April and 13 June), in several industries workers' disciplinary tribunals are organised in order to pronounce on the misdeeds of workers, especially idleness and lack of discipline. The only punishment envisaged is their dismissal from the factory. In more serious cases the Central Council of Professional Unions may inform all the Sections in order that workmen involved be not engaged.

Even Larin (a personage well known in Bolshevik Russia) pronounces against the system of compulsory labour for the workmen; "it would mean," said he, "condemning the proletariat to forced labour for the profit of the peasants." He is of opinion that the measures already taken to intensify work are sufficient. Other personages are not opposed to compulsory labour, provided it is applied only to persons who are not already employed on work of public utility. (See resolution passed by the Co-operative Section of the Supreme Council of Popular Economy, "Izvestia," 1 September, 1918.)

During the whole of 1918 the question is not raised, only in 1919 is it taken up again and this time pushed to its extreme consequences.

The first document which contains a complete series of laws on the subject is the Code of Labour Laws of 1919.

The first article of this Code says :

"All citizens of the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic, with the exceptions stated in arts. 2 and 3, are subject to compulsory labour."

The exceptions stated in art. 2 and 3 are either permanent or temporary.

The permanent exceptions are persons under 16 or over 50 years of age, and persons who have lost their working ability as a result of mutilations and illness.

The temporary exceptions are : Persons who, owing to illness and mutilation, have temporarily lost their working ability, for a period necessary for their recovery, and pregnant women for a period of eight weeks before and eight weeks after confinement.

Students, according to art. 4, are subject to compulsory labour at school.

According to art 5—

“The fact of permanent or temporary loss of working ability is certified by means of medical examination, taking place at the Bureau of Medical Inspection, at the Urban, District and Provincial Bureaux, at accident insurance offices, or at establishments substituting same according to the dwelling place of the person whose loss of working ability is certified.

[“*Note I.*—Rules regarding the method of examination of unfit workers are attached herewith.]

[“*Note II.*—Persons subject to compulsory labour and not engaged in useful public work can be compulsorily summoned by the local Soviets for execution of public work on conditions determined by the Department of Labour upon agreement with the local Councils of Professional Unions.”]

Art. 6 prescribes that labour is applied in the form of—

- “ (a) organised collaboration ;
- “ (b) individual personal service ;
- “ (c) execution of separate, definite work.”

According to arts. 10 and 11, persons subject to compulsory labour have the right to apply their labour in accordance with their speciality and for the remuneration determined for such class of work, but if this class of work is not available he must accept the work offered to him, but keeping his right to the salary fixed for his speciality (arts. 29 and 30). He has no right to refuse work not of his speciality. The violation of these rules entails penalties enumerated in art. 31, a fine of not less than 300 roubles or deprivation of liberty for not less than a week. These penalties are imposed by the Labour Distribution Sections. The competent authority for summoning people to work are the Labour Distribution Sections assisted by the Professional Unions and other Government organs (art. 15 and following).

The Labour Distribution Sections were created by a decree inserted in the "Izvestia," No. 239, of 1 November, 1918. These sections are organs of the Commissariat of Labour; their functions are similar to those of the English Labour Exchanges, with the fundamental difference that the employment of wage-earners of all sorts, in public or private establishments, must be done *exclusively* through them.

Every person without work of his speciality is registered as unemployed by his local branch of the Labour Distribution Department (art. 21, Code of Labour Laws). In this capacity he continues to receive the salary for his class of work (arts. 2 and 6 of the rules concerning unemployment and payments of subsidies), but if he leaves this work voluntarily and without a justifiable reason, he loses this right (art. 3, *c. op. cit.*).

We have thus an organisation for the putting into practice of compulsory labour, but what are the results?

It is only towards the end of 1919 that the question of compulsory labour returns on the scene and becomes the burning question of the day.

Three principal causes probably influenced the Soviet Government to attack the question with a firm intention of solving it :

- (1) The terrible crisis of transport and fuel, which must be overcome at all costs with the least possible delay.
- (2) The existence of a large army which after the victory over Koltchak and Denikin was no longer employed at the front but which could not be demobilised owing to the external political situation.
- (3) Lastly and principally the nationalisation of industries.

Towards the middle of 1919 nationalisation was an accomplished fact. The Government found itself with 3,000 factories which must be made to function. To make them function workers are necessary, but the workers were inclined to avoid work owing to low wages and the lack of food stuffs.

It appears that the productivity of the worker had diminished, and in spite of all measures taken the total productivity diminished. The workers preferred to emigrate to the country districts where they could find more food.

In these conditions the principle of supply and demand had to be abandoned for some other force ; this force could only be the State.

The State, according to the Bolshevik idea, feeds the population by making itself the organiser of a colossal exchange of industrial products against agricultural products. To ensure the success of this exchange the State had to have full and absolute control over all the existing economic forces, including

that of labour, and had to combine as it desired all the factors of production by diverting labour from one part of the country to another according to the necessities of the moment.

The peasant wants to sell his agricultural products at the highest price for industrial products of low price manufactured by the nationalised factories. But what is the cost of a unit of these industrial products? We do not know with any accuracy, but according to the data given in another chapter, they appear to be increasing unceasingly.

The State was then obliged (*a*) to have recourse to compulsory labour in order to find the necessary manpower, and (*b*) to employ it at a low price. We see thus that the nationalisation of industry and commerce brings with it in its train compulsory labour.

The considerations above mentioned are supported by some documents which it has been possible to procure, and of which a short notice is given.

In the first place, an article by Miliutin ("Econ. Jizn," No. 271, of 3 December, 1919) is interesting owing to the position of the author, a fact which gives to his opinions an exceptional importance.

In his capacity of Assistant Commissary of the Supreme Council of Popular Economy, Miliutin is especially interested in the increase of production and of the productivity of labour, and it is from this point of view that he insists on the necessity for an organised distribution of labour. "The first step in this direction," said he, "is to my mind compulsory labour service."

The same idea is suggested by an article of Sufaroff in the "Pravda" of 23 December, 1919, of which the most interesting passage is quoted :

"The principal obstacle to the increase of productivity of labour is the collapse of food supply. The State is not yet in a position to supply all the needs of the workers, and whilst the value of paper money continues to decrease more and more, payment in money cannot procure for the worker the products of which he stands in need. Although the immediate substitution of payment in money by payment in kind is naturally impossible, a reform, even partial, is urgently necessary in this direction. The decrease of productivity of labour is growing to a terrible extent, and to fight this danger, measures of a general order are not sufficient; measures of a specific order are rendered necessary. We must begin by organising our interior economic front. It is impossible to organise a food supply sufficient for the whole of this front; we must choose certain portions of it and some of their more important industrial establishments, and form, so to speak, 'Shock Battalions.' These will become our 'Shock Divisions,' whose needs must be satisfied on the same lines as military divisions. The workers belonging to these 'Shock Divisions' of labour will receive products in rations just like the soldiers of the Red Army."

Here is manifested already the idea of militarisation of labour which was soon to become the salient characteristic of the Bolshevik Organisation of Labour.

Still more clearly and entirely the reasons for the militarisation of labour are exposed in an article by Bukharin, one of the principal Bolshevik leaders ("Pravda," 28 December, 1919):

"Our most brilliant victories will end in nothing if we do not render ourselves capable of organising social production and developing our own productive forces. By these latter, we mean the sum total of

means of production (fuel, machines, etc.) and human labour. The task of increasing productivity can be considered from the point of view of increase of means of production or of increase of our living force of labour. We are in the impossibility of procuring the necessary number of machines abroad. But if the social revolution triumphed in Europe a short time hence, we could not be sure of help from the West, for the economic collapse there has reached enormous proportions, and even there productive resources are already exhausted. Our task therefore is to utilise in the first place human labour. Europe at all events, is faced with the same problem. The celebrated Vienna savant Goldscheid writes: 'Men! that is our best resource. The State must learn to use it. It is not enough to study the process of transformation of money into goods and goods into money. The fundamental transformation process which we should know and understand is that of goods into men and men into goods.'

"The utilisation of the human force we possess in abundance is the task awaiting us. While solving this problem, we must not lose sight of the two great conditions of success: firstly, we must utilise the already existing military units for the work of production; and secondly, we must organise certain indispensable labour points. Suppose the Salt Mines are in bad working condition; in view of the general need for salt, we must improve the mines in question by furnishing them with a sufficient quantity of man-power and of food and by establishing an iron discipline among the workers. A part of the entire salt production would be given to the peasants of the neighbourhood in exchange for bread, and in this way the supply of the works with food will be assured. We know that the Mensheviks will denounce this discipline as a sort of penal servitude,

but we know also that the working classes will understand things better, and will overcome the economic collapse."

Thus Bukharin says : We have armies, let us utilise them for labour, let us introduce military discipline into labour, and we shall thus increase the productivity of labour. If the State is in need of any given product, it concentrates all its man-power on its production, and the product obtained will serve as barter with the peasants."

The following is what is said by Osinsky (" Pravda," 28 December, 1919, General Organisation of National Industry by N. Osinsky) :

"After the first period of the dictatorship of the proletariat and peasants when the principal object of the Soviets was to take hold of the power, there was a period of intense centralisation. This new state of affairs was caused by the necessity of protecting themselves against attacks from outside as well as by the need to constitute with the least possible delay the installation of a new Socialistic State in the interior. From this was born the military character of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

"While the civil war is progressing in our favour the transformation of the State into a Commune must begin and the activities of the great public organisations ought to be encouraged and stimulated. The case of the food dictatorship can show what form this tendency will eventually take. The whole administrative work in this sphere of action has been entrusted to a special council consisting of three or four persons on which the corresponding local organisations depend. The work was done according to strictly military methods, but in so far as the people forming part of it were concerned it was a question of a mass campaign from the moment

it was conducted with the assistance of the Soviet Institutions, the Socialist Party and the workers' organisations. But the economic tasks which confront us grow daily in number. After the organisation of the food and fuel supply, and of the Sanitary Campaign the tasks will arise of obtaining the raw materials from the country and organising the mass production of the mother industries. This enterprise will assume such colossal proportions that we shall be obliged to have recourse to imperfect methods. It follows that every enterprise of this kind demands a certain proportion of compulsory labour, performed on an enormous scale by means of military methods of direction. As we see, economic necessities will tend to develop military methods which in their turn will react on all spheres of administrative activity, but parallel with this there will arise a tendency to develop local initiative and to co-ordinate militarism with democracy."

The meaning of this long reasoning is somewhat as follows: We have embarked on a colossal enterprise. We have taken over all the industries, we have the food monopoly; we are therefore obliged to feed our workers. In order to buy the products necessary to feed the workers, the latter must produce and produce much, for the peasants sell dearly. Therefore if we do not produce, we shall die of hunger, so we must oblige the workers to produce, that is to say, man-power must be militarised.

The most systematic statements of the dogma of militarisation and obligation of labour are incontestably the document published by Trotsky ("Pravda," 17 December, 1919) in the form of "points" or series of rules and prescriptions, and a speech made by Lenin towards the end of January, 1920, at the third Congress of the Economic Councils. The dogmatic and im-

passioned tones of these two documents give the impression that there is no longer question of a platonic dissertation, but of an extreme and decisive resolution made by the Bolshevik Government.

The following is a complete translation of the first document :

“ Liberty of Labour and the Obligation to Work.
Compulsory Labour and Military System.”

1. The Socialist economic system has as starting-point a common projet comprising the entire territory of the State with all its natural resources, productive forces and human labour; the proletariat aims at utilising these forces of production in a way just as complete as the method employed by an individual manufacturer within the limits of his own resources.

2. The continuity and the perfection of the process of production should be guaranteed by compulsory labour service by virtue of which every citizen must give a certain part of his time to a given branch of industry.

3. A rational Distribution of human labour in agriculture, manufacturing industry, transport and in the different branches of agriculture and manufacturing industry can only be made gradually by means of practical trials with socialised production, and of carefully kept registers of labour, its mobilisation and application.

4. As long as universal labour service has not become habitual and is not considered absolutely necessary by everybody (which will only be accomplished by education, and will only receive its full application in the next generation), the transition to a regime of universal

labour service can only be accomplished by coercion, that is to say by the armed forces of the State.

5. The most elementary condition for a future economic development is that the workers in manufacturing industries and transport and the town population in general be provided with food. Until the resources of the manufacturing industries are developed, and a regular exchange of goods between them and agriculture is assured, the obtaining of goods from the country will inevitably be considered by the more prosperous elements of the peasant class as a State tax in kind. The methodical and regular payment of such a tax can only be assured by coercion on the part of the State.

6. A rapid transition from the present chaotic and ruinous state of productive forces (in which the germs of the future are so strangely mingled with the ruins of the past) to a complete system of centralised production seems to be entirely out of the question. A long period of transition is inevitable, during which the efforts of the central authorities towards the re-establishment of the national economy on a new social basis will be united to the efforts of the local units in the same direction.

7. The initiative of the local centres must be encouraged and promoted by the State and by all possible means.

8. In conformity with the preceding, universal labour service cannot be treated as military service, in other words, as a service imposed without distinction on all individuals of a certain age, and according to a given economic plan. Labour service must be founded on the local agricultural organisation and must be organised in complete dependence on the economic, geographical, historical and cultural character of the productive regions.

9. These divisions, regional and geographical (Governments, districts, volosts) must be placed as the basis of the Soviet administrative system, as well as the basis of the military organisation.

10. The militia system transforms the mechanism of the army into an apparatus of productive processes, so that the human force of certain productive districts is at the same time a corresponding force of military units.

11. The registration of the population in view of military necessities should be made in combination with the registration in view of economic necessities, in such a way that the present military mechanism duly reformed and constantly perfected is transformed into a mechanism for the mobilisation of the masses for labour.

12. During the mobilisation of the Red Army its best elements will be disseminated over the entire territory of the State, according to local conditions, and will thus form an administrative apparatus for the militia.

13. The administrative units of the militia will be continually renewed, in order to absorb the best local elements of the proletariat.

15. The transformation to the militia system will be made in such a way as not to weaken the defence of the Republic.

16. During the transition period and in order to apply the food tax and labour service, the State must dispose of a certain number of disciplined and experienced units, formed for the most part of the proletariat.

17. The first task of reconstruction is to elaborate a project of production adapted to the urgent needs of the moment.

(Paras. 18, 19, 20 and 21 give some details and proposals as to the said project.)

22. After having been elaborated by the special commission of the Council of Popular Economy, the above-named project will be passed to the War Department for examination, firstly, of the question of the adaptation of the methods and mechanism of military mobilisation to labour mobilisation, and secondly of the question of transforming the military territorial divisions into productive territorial divisions.

In order to work out the details of the system of labour service, a special commission must be formed of representatives of the Commissariat and of the Central Council of Workers' Unions.

Through the ambiguities and the contradictions, Trotsky's conceptions appear fairly clear.

According to him the Socialist economic system should consider society as an indivisible whole composed of natural and human forces. The latter must utilise the former. There, where utilisation does not take place, or for transitory causes is imperfect, human labour is put in movement by the State. The means employed is the adaptation of military methods to economic production and by the creation of a sort of territorial economic militia, which will be at the same time the basis of war-time militia. Production and the army, which are in capitalistic countries considered antithetic, will harmonise in the Communistic State. There will be a kind of armed nation destined for production purposes, which at any moment will become a nation armed for war. Consequently con-

scription districts and military surveillance are necessary. The programme must therefore be elaborated in the first place by the Supreme Council of Popular Economy (the economic authority), then by the War Department (the Military Authority). The different Ministries and lastly the professional unions will only intervene later in the matter of detail.

Trotsky's thought is completed by a speech which he made at the first session of the Central Revolutionary Executive Committee, held in the first days of February, 1920, and in which he gives details of the functioning of the organs entrusted with the execution of the measures.

The following is the text of the speech given in the wireless message of 5 February :

“ The Soviet Republic will not allow itself to be affected by the grievances of those who are plunged in liberal and bourgeois prejudices ; liberty of the labour of the exploiter is the ruin of the State. The basis of the socialistic state is the rule of universal labour. It is time to put this principle into practice. The request for man-power passes through the divers economic organs which present their demands to the central bureau for the Mobilisation of Labour instituted at the Supreme Defence Council. The latter grants and distributes the man-power. This bureau is composed of representatives of the War Department, Labour and the Interior. The distribution of man-power is made taking into account first of all general necessities and then local needs.”

Trotsky explains then the necessity of making the masses understand that the application of this militarisation of labour is the only efficacious means in the present circumstances of fighting the economic crisis from which the world is suffering : “ What does

militarisation then mean, if not organisation, strict execution of order, war against idleness? The heroism shown by the Russian working masses on the military fronts gives us the certainty of victory on the labour front. Misery engenders avarice, famine, epidemics, which at all times have devastated Russia. All this will be a thing of the past with the arrival of the workers and peasants in power. We shall lift our country out of the dirt, misery and poverty."

Lenin made a pronouncement again quite lately on the question of compulsory labour, which shows the degree of importance attached to it. At the Third Congress of the Economic Council held towards the end of January, 1920, he treats the question as follows:

"We have now a phenomenon common between two periods, the period occupied entirely with war and the peace period. The former is not yet finished, for it is certain that the capitalists will try again to attack Russia; by all sorts of manœuvres and promises they wish to compel Poland to march against us. We must be on our guard, but speaking in a general way, the war which we have borne two years has terminated victoriously and we can set about our pacific task. *We must now adapt our war apparatus to new work.* The originality of this period must be understood, in a country ruined to the last degree, stricken with cold and starvation, where misery has reached the most despairing depths, and where nevertheless a whole people has acquired the right to consider itself capable of triumphing over the whole world without exaggeration, for the capitalist world has suffered defeat because it was disunited, whilst we march forward indissolubly bound to the workers of the entire world. The situation is this: on the one hand famine, cold and typhus, and on the other a colossal energy, the extraordinary will of the working and peasant masses . . . [words

omitted]. . . . *To cope with this situation we have created labour armies, we cannot demobilise our army and we cannot confine ourselves to the old capitalistic methods of fighting against misery and famine.* There are perhaps still some social revolutionaries or Mensheviks, those belated defenders of capitalism, who will speak of the liberty of labour at the moment when we must wage war against capitalism ; they do not understand that that is the old capitalistic lie about illusory freedom. The organisation of the masses is only possible through the preponderant influence of the proletarian advance guard on the workers ; otherwise this famous liberty is reduced to the faculty of living in a starving country, a prey to speculation like the western countries at the present moment ; they call that liberty, but we say that there lies the true evil of capitalism. We must now concentrate our efforts on the principal point, *i.e.*, collect the grain and transport it to the centres ; every dispersal of efforts is a mortal danger. *In order to execute this task with the colossal rapidity required, we must create armies of labour, we must concentrate all our forces on the labour front with the maximum of tension, with a truly military spirit of implacable decision.* We demand that all the peasants and workmen help us in this task and then only we shall have success, we shall collect some hundreds of million poods of grain, for we possess them. In the first year we received . . . (text jammed) . . . poods, in the second 110 . . . (jammed) . . . in five months of 1919, already 90,000,000 ; such results prove that we are on the right path, the path of State monopoly against the bourgeois and capitalist liberty of commerce and speculation ; this road is the only just way, we shall not abandon it, but we need super-human efforts, we must have the tension of all the

forces of the country ; all other questions of finance, organisation, programme must be laid aside until we are definitely victorious over our enemies ; it would be a crime to let oneself be turned aside from the principal object, to be able to collect hundreds of million poods of all sorts of produce by means of Government monopoly, by socialistic means of a workers' government, and not by those of capitalist speculation, and transport these millions of poods after triumphing over the railway crisis."

Nothing could be more frank than these words on the liberty of labour. This liberty is illusory if the country is dying of hunger. To conquer famine labour must be organised, and the State alone must be free to concentrate the efforts of the citizens on the most urgent necessities.

Up to what point has this vast and bold programme been developed ? What part of it has been put in practice ? In what form ? What are the details of the plan ?

Information on these points is confusing and contradictory, and we do not know any details, but the impression is given that the programme is being executed.

The application of the principle of compulsory labour seems to have been only partial in the beginning and confined to those tasks which were of extreme urgency, such as wood-cutting for the necessary fuel to run the industries.

The following is a decree of the Council of the Workers' and Peasants' Defence, published in the " Izvestia " of 20 November, 1919 :

" In view of the necessity of concentrating all the efforts of the country on the task of overcoming the

fuel crises, the Council of Workers' and Peasants' Defence has decided :

- “ (1) To introduce in the localities mentioned below the following forms of obligatory public labour :
- “ (a) Wood-cutting.
- “ (b) Collecting, loading and unloading of all kinds of fuel.
- “ (c) Transport by road of all fuel, military supplies, and other consignments to the towns, railways and other destinations.
- “ (2) The order summoning the population to execute the duties above mentioned is promulgated by the Peoples' Commissariat of the Interior.
- “ (3) The control over obligatory public labour is entrusted to a member of the Collegium of the Commissariat of the Interior who may send deputies to act for him.
- “ (5) To the labour above mentioned are summoned all male citizens from 18 to 40 years, who are not yet mobilised, those who are exempted from military service, and women between 18 and 40 years.”

Though incomplete, the text gives us evidence that the obligation to work was in this case limited to a certain part of Russian territory and to a certain task.

An interesting commentary on a decree concerning compulsory labour is given by Rykoff at the 7th Congress of Soviets (“Econ. Jizn,” No. 276, of 9 December, 1919). It is difficult to say whether he speaks of the above decree or not, but it is always question of the fuel crisis.

"The difference," says Rykoff, "between compulsory labour now and formerly is this: Now you work for the State, for the majority of the people, for the workers and peasants, whilst before, you were obliged to work, and punishment was inflicted on the workers and peasants because they worked badly for the bourgeois and the capitalists. At present in Soviet Russia, a workers' state, work is the obligation of everybody, and obligatory labour as such should result from the constitution, from the very idea of the organisation of the Soviet State.

"That does not mean, naturally, that compulsory labour should be enforced by extraordinary means, by compulsion in the shape of mobilisation, etc. The consciousness that it is the absolute duty of each citizen must penetrate more and more deeply into the spirit of the masses. The question of enforcement of compulsory labour must be the subject of agitation, of propaganda, of explanation.

"Compulsory labour has been extended to the whole Forestry Corps. Under the Forestry Department of the Commissariat of Agriculture, there are over 100,000 foresters and others whose duty it is to guard the forests and take care of the culture of trees. By a decree of the Council of Peoples' Commissaries they have been obliged to do compulsory labour in cutting and transporting wood. The Council of Peoples' Commissaries considered that this duty could be imposed on more than 100,000 foresters employed by the Soviet authorities, in a moment of terrible fuel crisis, when all the forces of the country, of the workers, and of the peasants are in such a state of tension."

It is necessary to note that Rykoff appears to be opposed to the employment of force in the form of

military mobilisation for the purpose of enforcing compulsory labour. He speaks as though such a method was never contemplated by the Government, at the very moment when, on the contrary, the Government was preparing the decree on the militarisation of man-power. A wireless message of 5 January informs us as follows :

“ By decree of the Council of the Peoples’ Commissaries a commission is being organised whose programme is the distribution of labour by Peoples’ Commissaries for Labour. The object of the Commission is to furnish the necessary man-power under the orders of the commissaries. It will register the skilled labour of the whole country wherever they may be. *It will put into operation the mobilisation and the distribution* of this skilled labour. It will ensure its regular formation by means of professional schools.

“ The mobilisation of unskilled labour in the towns and villages by a plan general is an urgent task just as much as repairing damaged roads, the taking away of the snow, or the supply of wood. The Commission will ensure the participation of the garrisons in the agricultural work and others demanding a mass of man-power. Trotsky was nominated president of this commission.”

This message has a fundamental importance for the question of compulsory labour, as it gives us details of the plan of action elaborated by the Government. Two systems are contemplated, one of which might be called normal, the other of a temporary character.

The former consists in the utilisation of all the man-power of the country ; this is divided into two categories, skilled and unskilled. They are utilised through the process of registration, mobilisation and

distribution. This plan extends over all Russia, town and country alike. The second system consists in the transformation of the fighting army into a labour army. In other words, the soldiers are kept with the colours and employed on what they call "the labour front" at urgent work, such as repairing railway lines, etc. We know nothing of the composition of the Commission, of which Trotsky is President, to whom the task of realising this colossal programme is entrusted.

With this new organisation what becomes of the Labour Distribution Bureaux? What relations are formed with the Professional Unions? And with the local village organs? No answer can be given.

The Labour Commission developed a programme immediately, for we see by a wireless message of 15 January, 1920, that the first labour army has been formed:

"Moscow.—The Workers' and Peasants' Council of National Defence has decided that the 3rd Workers' and Peasants' Red Army is to be utilised, in the future, exclusively for the accomplishment of special work; it will be a special organisation of a new apparatus . . . which will be called the 1st Revolutionary Labour Army (text mutilated). This transformation of the 3rd Army is only of a temporary character. But all the forces must be employed . . . first of all, the preparation of food-stuffs, forage, fuel, transport from the factories to the railway stations; the organisation of roads and traffic; the starting of preliminary work in view of future plans, and the repair of all agricultural machinery. . . . The work of the 1st Revolutionary Army will be the guarantee of the local workers. The Revolutionary Army will be treated from a point of view of food, just as the Red Army.

All work will be done under the direction of the Revolutionary Soviet of the Labour Army, which will be composed of members of the Military Revolutionary Soviet and representatives from the Commissariats of Popular Economy, Supply, Agriculture Way of Communication and Labour."

Is the directing commission here mentioned the same as in the preceding wireless or another? This is not clear.

It may be noted here that the authority prescribing the creation of the Labour Army is the Council of National Defence. The relations between this organ and the Commission are not clear.

The order published by Trotsky to the 1st Labour Army is worthy of reproduction :

" The 3rd Army has done its duty valiantly as a combatant, but the enemy is not yet completely beaten on all fronts, and so the 3rd Red Army must remain under arms.

" But penetrated with a sense of duty, the 3rd Army does not wish to lose its time during the few weeks' rest it is going to have. It must therefore bring all its forces towards the bettering of the economic state of the country. The first task to be fulfilled will be to regulate the transport of grain, meat and other food-stuffs, forage and fuel. In the sectors occupied by this Army, it will have to do the work of wood-cutters. The soldiers will have to wield the saw and the axe, they will have to draw to the mills and railway stations consignments of wood, they will have to repair ploughs and other agricultural machines, etc. In all these works an indefatigable energy must be shown. The Commanders and the Commissaries will be responsible for the work of the army as they were for its success in battle. Discipline must suffer no relaxation ; liaison is to be kept

up with other parts of the army. Roll-call will be strictly kept in order to avoid desertion from work as dishonorable as desertion before the enemy.

"Begin your work and end it to the music of socialist hymns and songs, for what you do is not the work of slaves but a great duty towards your socialist country.

"Soldiers of the 3rd Army, now the 1st Labour Army, yours is the honour of beginning a great work. All Russia is looking at you!"

According to Podvoiski in the "Izvestia," the results of this work are extraordinary. According to the text of the article given by wireless on 1 February, 1920 :

"Five detachments were formed for wood cutting, each of the strength of a company and composed of troops of the Moscow garrison. Each detachment is divided into groups of three men, two of whom have a saw and one an axe. Each group must cut 3 cubic metres of wood per day. The pay, whether in money or in kind, depends on the amount of work done. At present most groups do more than the amount fixed and cut 15 or even 20 cubic metres daily. In certain places felling is done by explosion. Everywhere the discipline of labour and organisation have given colossal results. Every day the detachments furnish an average of 4,000 cubic metres of wood. As to transport, the difficulty has been solved by the mobilisation of the horses of the neighbourhood and by laying narrow gauge railways.

"All this was created with a most fantastic rapidity in twenty days. The results obtained allow already the Moscow hospitals to receive a train of 30 waggons of wood.

"Here is a brilliant example of the fabulous results which the workers and peasants can obtain when militarised under the flag of labour."

It strikes one at once that according to this article soldiers are paid either in money or in kind according to the work done, whilst in a previous wireless it was said that the Labour Army was treated in the same way as the Red Army. This point requires clearing up.

In any case the work of mobilisation continues. A wireless message of 2 February informs us that the Council of Defence has decided to consider as mobilised all the workers and employees of the Forestry Administration, the Central Offices of Coal, Turf and Naphtha and all the services depending on them. The minimum of production required according to categories is fixed by the executive organs of these offices in conjunction with the local labour sections. This time even Government employees are affected by the measure.

On 7 February another wireless message announces the publication of a decree by the Council of Peoples' Commissaries on the practical realisation of the mobilisation of labour. Unfortunately we have not the text of this decree. The wireless message announcing it was also very much mutilated. It appears the law was drafted in two days and the wireless boasts :

“ Whilst the German Constituent Assembly and all Occidental Parliaments pass weeks and months in vain talking and marking time, without being able to find a remedy for the ruin which is threatening everybody, our Soviet power does not hesitate nor lose its time in vain words. Its audacity is without measure, as is its energy. But this audacity does not remain sterile or in a state of irrealisable project, for the Soviet power gets its strength from the toiling masses. It is this same great Russian people which through all its history, and in particular during the three years of revolution, has shown that it possesses immense creative powers. It will make its way, it

will indicate to the proletariat of the world the only means of safety from the mortal danger which menaces all countries, *i.e.*, the power of the workers, which alone is capable of vanquishing the general apathy and of raising a new State."

There is hardly a day when the wireless does not give us information from the "Labour Front." It is even a daily bulletin, published like those from the battle front.

The following are some extracts :—

" 8th February. It . . . (jammed) . . . the distribution of bonus in kind to transport workers who obtain the best results.

" The Commission . . . orders the employment of the troops to clear the permanent way. It demands the multiplication and the intensification of the Communist Saturdays devoted to the repair of rolling-stock.

" The Commissariat of the Interior declared a state of siege in a zone 50 versts on each side of the railway and it is filling up the Executive Committees of the governments and districts along the railway with responsible workers capable of ensuring with the greatest energy the execution of all the measures ordered for the struggle against the snow. All the local and municipal authorities are obliged to satisfy all demands made by the railway administration for man-power and horses.

" In Moscow itself every citizen, with the exception of the members of the Executive Committee, the colleges or educational institutions, and the medical personnel, is obliged to work at sweeping once every 25 days. All tradesmen authorised to sell uncontrolled goods are obliged to work. A number of

well-known Communists are attached to the political service of ways of communication; lastly, the Council of Defence has decreed the mobilisation throughout all Russia of all persons from 18 to 50 years who have served in any capacity during the last ten years on the railways."

On the same day, the Conference of Moscow Railway Workers voted in favour of "the immediate realisation of mobilisation of labour."

"The appeals of the Peoples' Commissaries, of the Central Committee for the intensification of labour find an enthusiastic echo through all Russia. A Conference of the Professional Unions promises to give all its efforts towards the intensification of transport work. *The work, it says, will be done in a military fashion.* At Pskov and on the provincial railways the repair of waggons and engines is being energetically undertaken, as is the formation of special food trains." (10th February.)

After having affirmed that the "enemy," *i.e.*, the fuel crisis, is not yet annihilated, but according to all indications is beaten, the wireless message gives some information on the results of the wood-supply furnished by the Red Army in the first half of January:

"According to very incomplete information, the military organisations have cut by their own means about 520,000 steres of which 250,000 have been transported; 1,300 waggons have been loaded. The figures from the south-east Front are not yet available, nor are those of the 7th and 15th Armies, consequently these figures must be doubled, as these two armies are in a forest region. Also, the military units working in the service of the provincial forestry committees and on the railway are not counted.

According to the figures sent in by G.H.Q., the general total cut is 104,000,000 steres up to 15 January. Up to 1 January, it was only 16,000,000 steres ; the difference proves the success of the labour of several armies. Besides, the fuel commission of the south-west front has devoted really exceptional energy to the extraction of coal from the Donetsk Basin after its occupation and before any civil organ could apply its activity. Up to 22 January, 902 poods of coal were already loaded. The internal exploitation of the mines is entrusted to the representatives of the Civil Fuel and Coal Committees to whom the Ukrainian Army will bring its help and experience.

“ On the Caucasian front 150,000 steres have been cut, and of these 55,000 have been transported.

“ The front has cut 160,000 steres and transported 80,000.

“ The Northern Front cut 1,000,000 steres and transported . . . thus the Red Army is fulfilling well its task on the fuel front. The railway men will also do their duty, great victories will be won over the new . . . ” (11th February.)

On the same day another wireless message spoke of labour identity books. Unfortunately the message is very incomplete.

“ The institution of labour identity books is in process of realisation in Moscow. The books have 32 pages. Besides the personal identity information it contains the following columns . . . labour, wages, allowances, pensions, cards.

“ At the same time it serves as a passport in Russia. The introduction of the labour identity book will facilitate the control of the observance of the

laws on labour. *For this purpose it will only be issued to workers and employees according to lists furnished by the enterprises where they work, to artisans on production of certificates of registration, to invalids on a certificate from the Section of Social Welfare, to women occupied with housework on a certificate issued by the House Committee. Once the distribution is finished all those who have no labour booklets will be sent to work by the Labour Distribution Section.*"

This message gives us an idea of the purpose and functions of labour identity books. The book is really a passport without which no one can live in Russia, and anyone not possessing one is liable to be sent to compulsory labour.

On 12 February there is another incomplete wireless message announcing the creation of two new Labour Armies.

"The creation of two new labour armies has been decreed in the following terms: 'In order to ameliorate transport in the South Eastern Railway region :

" (1) All the forces and resources of the 2nd Army will be used for the remaking of the South Eastern Railways, and for the increasing of production in the repair shops of rolling stock.

" (2) In order to ensure perfect liaison between the Military Revolutionary Council of the 2nd Army and the Railway Administration, Oskin, a Member of this Council is attached to the South Eastern Railway Commissary, whilst retaining his functions on the 2nd Army Military Revolutionary Council.

" (3) In questions of transport, Oskin is under the orders of the Railway Commissary.

“ ‘ (4) In Military questions the Military Council of the 2nd Army retains its rights.

“ ‘ (5) The Army will take over the service of supply.’

“ A similar decree declares that the 7th Army, after having valiantly defended Petrograd has also been formed into a labour army.

“ The Baltic fleets will put at the disposal of the new labour army all buildings possible.

“ The garrison of Petrograd is also attached to the Labour Army.”

On the same day two messages speak with enthusiasm of the labour armies.

Another message on 15 February announced the creation of labour armies in the Urals, Ukraine and Caucasus.

On 16 February another message and on the 18th the *résumé* of an article by Gorki on the subject, and on the 20th a bulletin from the labour front.

It is interesting to add here some quotations from English and American Journalists who have been in Russia recently.

Lincoln Eyre in the “ Daily News ” of 27 February, gives very few new details, but he writes as one who has been on the spot and observed ; the following is the passage referring to Labour Armies :

“ Four of Trotsky’s six armies have been turned into Labour Armies, which means that soldiers fresh from victories on the military front, are being obliged to work, still under military command and discipline, on the economic front. The Bolsheviks boast that not another Government in the world would dare to turn troops mobilised for fighting purposes into ranks of labourers immediately after

they have triumphantly terminated a hard and bloody war, which might well entitle them to a rest.

"Labour generally is being militarised to an amazing extent. Discipline is being imposed upon factory workers by the establishment of special tribunals, with powers of courts martial. Communist Commissaries no longer required at the front are being detached from their regiments and sent to stimulate productive endeavour in industries and railroads."

Some information is given in telegrams published in the "Birmingham Daily Post" of 1 March, the "Sunday Evening Telegram," of 29 February (both from Berlin sources), in the "Sunday Times" of 22 February, correspondence from Stockholm entitled "Russia—a Slave State," in "The Times" of 4 March "Labour Slaves in Russia," in the "Yorkshire Post" of 3 March, and finally in the "Daily News" of 13 March, 1920.

Before concluding, a decree—that of 14 November, 1919, published in the "Izvestia" of 16 November—remains to be mentioned; it concerns disciplinary labour tribunals, and is a measure drafted to ensure the observance of the decree on compulsory labour.

The decree is obligatory in the whole of Russia, and extends to all enterprises whether nationalised, private or co-operative.

The object is "to reinforce the discipline of production and salary," *i.e.*, to see that the worker produces a certain amount and is paid according to the established tariff (art. 2).

Art. 3 speaks of the composition of the tribunal. The following articles up to art. 9 are prescriptions on the sessions, expenses and on appeal to the Disciplinary

Labour Tribunal, which is organised at the Labour Commissariat composed of three members of whom 2 are Government Delegates, and the third from the Trades' Unions. The decisions of this Tribunal are without appeal; as a last instance the Government decides. The Government has the right to dissolve the first named tribunal (art. 12).

Art. 9 gives the penalties :

“ The Tribunal may impose the following penalties :

- “ (1) Censure of the mill or enterprise ;
- “ (2) Temporary deprivation of passive and active rights of the Union for a period of not more than six months ;
- “ (3) Temporary transfer to a lower category of labour with the lowest pay, for not more than one month ;
- “ (4) Transfer to hard labour of public utility with wage corresponding to the work done. In the case of obstinate insubordination or repetition of offences dismissal as a useless element and deportation to a concentration camp.”

This latter is almost equivalent to penal servitude.

The disciplinary tribunal becomes now a part of the system ensuring compulsory labour.

As to its work we have no information, whether it exists only on paper or whether it is an active organ co-operating in the re-establishment of labour discipline.

The great question which arises now is to know how the measure on compulsory labour has been really put into practice. What penalties are inflicted for the violation of the decree, on idlers, on absentees without

permission ? What results have been obtained ? Does this enthusiasm spoken of in the wireless messages really exist ? To what extent has " the universal duty of labour " penetrated the Russian working masses ? Nothing of what we have been able to procure can enlighten us on these points.

CHAPTER VIII.

STRIKES.

There is singularly little information on strikes which have occurred during the Bolshevik régime, on state action, the strikers, and on the opinion of the public and masses concerning strikes.

The Bolshevik authorities seem to consider strikes as being anti-revolutionary, especially after the nationalisation of industry. This is evident from the resolution voted by the Moscow Soviet, which met in plenary sitting with the delegates from the Factory Committees and professional syndicates. This resolution has been published in the "Izvestia" of 2 July, 1918. After having quoted the decree of the Council of the Peoples' Commissaries of 28 June, which places all large factories, works and productive forces of the countries under the control and at the disposition of the Republic of Soviets, the resolution continues as follows :

"As from now, the organised forces of the proletariat, the trades unions (professional associations) will be under the management of the Council of National Economy, which will organise the management and production of industrial enterprises. Under these new methods of management, the workers will see to discipline and the increase of productivity, and will end the economic disorganisation. Under these conditions every stoppage of work and all strikes will be an act of treason to the proletarian revolution."

Nevertheless, strikes seem to have continued, if one is to judge from the following information culled from the "Izvestia" of 11 July, 1918:

"As the local syndicate of metal workers have struck without their Administrative Council taking measures to put an end to the strike, the Regional Council of the Metal Workers Union has ordered the Syndicate of Toula to elect a new Administrative Council. No wages will be paid during the strike. It has also been decided not to pay the workers wages during the two days' strike at the Metal Products Factory at Podolsk."

In the "Izvestia" of 9 August, 1918, it is further stated:

"The Administrative Council of the Metal Workers' Syndicate has decided to pay the wages to their imprisoned comrades for the periods of the strike and their imprisonment."

Thus it appears that the Syndicates do not always accept the official conception of the strike. In certain cases they are strongly opposed to it. An example of this is the following quotation from the "Izvestia" of 15 August, 1918, which states:

"At a textile workers' conference, the workers stated that they had abandoned their narrow unionism and only held the interests of the State in view. The assembled workers recognise strikes as criminal, and all strikers will be dismissed and brought before workers' tribunals for punishment according to the proletarian laws."

But in the "Izvestia" of 9 August, 1918, one learns on the contrary that at Nijni-Novgorod the Regional

Council is at variance with the Council of Metal Workers' Syndicates, which has upheld a strike of its members.

What happened in 1919? The accessible official data give no clue. We have only some second-hand information requiring official confirmation.

For example, Mr. Lovat Frazer in the "Daily Mail" of 17 August :

"In Soviet Russia the workers have not the right to strike. Strikes are punishable by death. The Commissaries decide when and how one has to work. Change of locality is forbidden except by a special permit."

Mr. Goode, who was in Russia about the same period, says : "Strikes are not permitted. They are illogical, and must be avoided." * He makes no mention of the death penalty. Which of these is right? Malone, in his book † gives a certain gravity to strikes. He writes : "It must be recognised that a strike in a Communist State is illegal, whereas in Britain a strike-breaker is considered as traitor to the workers' cause, in Soviet Russia it is those desirous of striking who are regarded as traitors."

But he does not definitely state what penalties strikers are liable to ; and Lincoln Eyre, who generally deals with most things in detail, contents himself by saying, "The workers' syndicates have not the right to strike." ("Daily News," 13 March, 1920.)

In a personal letter of 11 March (in which he gives a summary answer to certain points in the Question-

* P. 30.

† P. 75.

naire), Mr. Goode says à propos of strikes : “ Strikes crop up from time to time, but when I was there there were none. The chief cause of strikes is the lack of elasticity in the wages tariffs. Small local strikes are impossible owing to the organisation of the trade unions.”

CHAPTER IX.

ORGANISATION OF LABOUR COMMISSARIAT.

GENERAL ORGANISATION.

In clause 43 (heading 8) of the Constitution of the Russian Socialist Federative Soviet Republic (Order dated 10 July, 1918), a People's Commissar of Labour is appointed.

This Commissariat was combined in the middle of 1918 with the Commissariat of Social Welfare established in April, 1918, by the transformation of the "Narodni Commissariat Gosudarstvennogo Prizrenia."*

The fusion of the two Commissariats was announced as ended by an official Russian wireless message of 31 December, 1919. The new Commissariat bears the title of "People's Commissariat of Labour and Social Welfare."†

How is the Commissariat of Labour organised?‡

* See Vinokuroff, *Sotzialnoe Obespechenie & Sovietskoi Rossii*. Moscow, 1919.

† *Ibid.*, p. 6.

‡ After these lines were written we have received an extract from the "Bulletin of the Commissariat of Labour" for August—September, 1918, containing the following information:

The Commissariat is sub-divided into the following sections:

- (1) Section for relations between Capital and Labour.
- (2) Executive Section.
- (3) Legal Section.
- (4) Arbitrage Section.
- (5) Instruction Section.
- (6) Protection of Labour Section (enquiry on conditions of labour).
- (7) Social Assurance Section.
- (8) Statistical Section.
- (9) Administrative Section.
- (10) Information Section.

For lack of official information on the matter, we must have recourse to the statements of M. Schmidt, Commissary of Labour, as reported by Messrs. Ransome & Goode, the former referring to the beginning of 1919, the latter to the end of the same year. Their versions agree in the main, and may be summed up as follows : The Commissary is appointed directly by the General Council of the Trades Unions. We do not know on what conditions the appointment is made, or whether it is renewed at fixed intervals ; presumably, as with the other People's Commissaries, the appointment is made by the National Congress of Soviets (clause 49 of the Constitution), which renews it at each Congress. By clause 44 of the same Constitution each Commissary of the people is assisted by a College, whose members are confirmed by the Council of People's Commissaries.

By this clause the Commissary of Labour is assisted by a Council of nine members, of whom five are elected by the National Council of the Trades Unions, and four are directly appointed by the Council of People's Commissaries.

The Council of the Trades Unions has the right to control these latter appointments.

Functions.

The Commissariat of Labour has, amongst others, the following duties :

The registration and distribution of labour in Russia, the fixing of the number of hours in the working day ; the regulation of wages, protection of the worker and inspection of factories ; provision for social welfare (unemployment insurance), pensions.

Competent Legislative Authorities.

The National Council of the Trades Unions has the right and responsibility of drawing up labour laws, after consultation with the unions concerned. Bills must then be ratified by the Commissary of Labour before they can become law. This function of the trades unions has no legal sanction, but is authorised simply by the declarations of the Commissary referred to.

We have no information whatever which would allow us to judge how far the Council of the Trades Unions takes an effective share in labour legislation, neither have we any particulars of how disputes concerning the protection of the workers are settled.

CHAPTER X.

TRADES UNIONS.

According to the Report of the first Congress of Trades Unions held at Petrograd from 7—14 January, 1918, it would appear that during the War the greater part of these organisations disappeared. They began to form again after the Revolution of February, 1917.

At the outbreak of the Bolshevik Revolution there were about 100 of them in existence. Their development was extremely rapid under the Bolsheviks, so much so that at the aforementioned Congress about 4 million workers were represented, embodied in 162 private Unions, 20 provincial Unions and 19 national Unions.

LEGISLATION.

Clause 2 of the Constitution passed by the Second National Congress of Soviets declares that the Federative Russian Republic of Soviets . . . “materially helps the workers and peasants in every way to co-ordinate and to unite.”

Hence the formation of Unions is not only recommended, but also encouraged. But soon we find the Trade Unions becoming an integral part of the machinery of the State organisation, especially in an economic sense. And by the decree of 14 August, 1918, the Trade Unions send their representatives into the Supreme Council of National Economy (30 out of 69 members). And they are also represented in the different centres subordinate to this Council; *e.g.*, Section of Precious Metals (decree 18 January, 1918), Naphtha Committee (decree 6 June, 1918),

Committee of Public Works (decree 18 June, 1918), Principal Committee of Forestry and Wood Industry (decree 19 June, 1918), Principal Sugar Committee (decree 23 June, 1918).

Furthermore, they are called on to nominate their representatives: in the district local Councils of National Economy (decree 23 December, 1917); in the local sections of the Commissariat of Industry and Commerce; in the management of each factory of the Workers' Industry (decree 8 May, 1918); in the All-Russian Council of Workers' Control (14 November, 1918); in the Commissions of Control and Repartition which have immediate seniority to the Commission of Control of each industry (decree 13 December, 1917); in the administrative economic council of every factory (decree 7 March, 1918); in the central managements of every nationalised industry, the Unemployment Bureau, and in the central Committee of the Anti-Unemployment Bureau (decree 28 November—11 December, 1917).

They are also called upon in the decree of 19 December, 1917, to send representatives to take part in the Commission formed to settle district boundaries and determine basic wage-tariffs of workers and employees, showing maximum and minimum wages.

It was they also (by the decree of 9 June, 1918) who worked out the wage-tariffs of the workers and employees of the iron industry of the Moscow district; they alone, by this same decree, can consent to any change of this ruling, can determine the average production of each worker, the order of holidays, etc. Finally, by clauses 7, 8 and 9 of the Code of Labour, 1919, to them is given the fixing of working conditions (wages, working hours, etc.), in all establishments and in all enterprises, whether nationalised or private, and whether the work is done by a work contract or as in individual effort (*e.g.*, home work).

And by a wireless of 31 December, 1919, we are informed that the Director of the Social Welfare Section of the Commissariat of Work is also the representative of the Trade Unions. He is assisted by a board of five members, elected by the Central Council of the Trade Unions.

They also play a political *rôle*, for we see the decree of 13 December, 1918, guarantees the Trade Unions a special representative in the Petrograd Soviet. Thus, it appears that representatives of the Trade Unions are found in all Russian Soviets.

All this legislation was accomplished in 1918, at the end of which we find the Trade Unions holding an important place in the Soviet Government machinery. They appear to have twofold functions:—(a) pure political (representation in the Soviets), and (b) an economic function which shows itself in two forms:—

1. Participation in the administration of centres and branches, and in the management of factories.
2. Regulation of the working conditions in factories.

But it must be added that this latter function is under the control of the Labour Commissariat.

Such was the position of the Trade Unions at the end of 1918. Now, what legislation has taken place in 1919?

This is what we cannot say, as no text of legislature for this year has come into our hands, if we except the Code of Labour which adds to the powers of the Union in the regulating of working conditions. The description given by writers who have recently visited Russia do not show any important changes in the legal status of the Trade Unions. This point will undoubtedly be the object of a special research by the Commission of Enquiry.

Let us now study the practical life of the Trade Unions, which is quite as important as legislation.

Here also, it must be avowed, we have no documents of recent date containing reliable details.

What information we have we tabulate as follows :

Congresses.—It is certain that two Congresses sat : the first in January, 1918, and the second at the beginning of 1919.

A third Congress was due to take place at the beginning of 1920 (1 March), but we believe it to have been put off till April.

From a document published in the “*Economicheskaja Jizn*” of 14 December, 1919, we learn that only Trade Unions registered with Central All-Russian Council of Trade Unions will have the right of representation.

The right to vote is governed by the following conditions :—Local Unions with a minimum membership of 3,000 whose subscriptions are paid up have one delegate each ; over 5,000 members, one delegate per 5,000 members.

Unions having a membership less than 3,000 must unite so as to send one delegate per 3,000 members, and this will be carried out by the Regional Council of Trade Unions. The National Councils of Unions will have one delegate each ; and if their membership exceeds 100,000, two delegates.

Enrolment of the Workers in the Unions.

In an article entitled “The Syndical Movement during 18 months of Revolution” in the “*Professionalny Vestnik*” (“The Syndicalist Messenger”)—the organ of the Central Council of Trade Unions—Schmidt, a well-known Bolshevik, gives statistics of

the syndical movement from June, 1917, to 1 January, 1918. From this article it would appear that at this latter date enrolment in the Unions was compulsory for all workers occupied in the following industries:—Metal, textile, leather and skins, chemicals, glass, potteries, wood as well as postal, telegraph and telephone services and sea and waterway transportation. Enrolment was voluntary on the railways, in the building trades, for tailors, printers, commercial employees, in institutions of trust, funds, victualling and tobacco, for employees of the municipalities and sanitary services and for firemen. The number of workers and employees registered averaged 60% of the total number employed in these industries.

The situation after 1918 is unknown to us. But Mr. Goode, in a letter, says that "all workers must be organised, *i.e.*, registered with the Trade Unions." Nevertheless, Goode quotes no actual text of legislature on this obligation, nor does he tell us if all workers are registered with one Union, nor if this is obligatory to all wage-earners.

GENERAL ORGANISATION.

At the first Conference of Trade Unions (January, 1918) there was a lengthy debate as to whether the Unions should be organised according to Trades or according to production.

Lozovski, one of the leaders of the Russian Syndicalist movement, gave forcible examples showing why they should adopt the latter type of organisation which, as a matter of fact, had already been adopted by the Third Conference of Trade Unions (June, 1917).

Finally the Congress definitely adopted this plan, and passed several resolutions facilitating its practical adoption. Thus, resolution 15 of the Congress

speaks of the necessity of a series of practical indications *re* the differentiation of diverse productions. Resolutions 16 and 17 deal with the formation, under the national and local Councils, of Commissions for: (1) The Controlling of Unions; (2) the publication of rules for the Union, and define particular trades and professions by production, giving examples of typical professions which can be affiliated to one or another union of production. All of which aims at clearness of construction by production. Nevertheless, we must admit the temporary formation of mixed local Unions, especially in out-of-the-way places where the number of workers is unimportant. And later, even these Unions will have to divide up according to production to be able to enter into close relations with the Production Unions of the nearest district.

As regards the practical application in 1919 of the resolutions passed by the Congress, we are entirely dependent on authors who have recently visited Russia, such as Goode, Malone and Ransome.

They all agree that in actuality the organisation of the Trade Unions is done by production, a Union embracing all the traders working on one definite production. Thus the metal-workers Union comprises 290 trades. The organisation is as follows:—

The local Unions are grouped into provincial Unions which, in their turn, unite in the national or all Russian Group.

The 50 All-Russian Unions are united by the Council of the All-Russian Federation of Trade Unions.

We have very little information as to the different relations between the respective branches of this professional organisation. The first Congress voted several resolutions in favour of a centralisation of powers in the national Unions, by the resolutions 5, 6 and 7 the Congress decided that it would be desirable to

transfer all the subscriptions of the sections to the central management, which must look after their requirements. Resolutions 6 and 7 state that the ideal relationship between local Unions and the national Union of production is the centralisation of the economic struggle by a contribution to the central fund of at least 50 % of the subscriptions.

However, the Congress admits the provincial Unions as a temporary arrangement during the reconstruction period of the syndicalist organisations.

Later, says resolution 10, the provincial Unions will transfer all their activities to the nationalised central Unions, in order that there may be an equal and even division of resources throughout all production.

We do not know if this minute has already been put in practice: as far as we are able to judge from the authors aforementioned, the provincial Unions appear to exist at present throughout all Russia.

The All-Russian Central Council of Trade Unions.

At the apex of the syndicalist hierarchy is the All-Russian Central Council of Trade Unions.

According to the resolutions of the Petrograd Congress its chief duties, among others, were to establish a connection with the Central Executive Committee of the Soviets and the representation of the whole Union Movement before the central institutions of State and public organisations, to collaborate with the Unions in their organisation work and to help by oral and written propaganda the development of the professional movement.

Its funds were to be derived from the subscriptions of the adherents of the Central Council of Workers' Organisations at the rate of 3 kopecks a paying member a month, made over as soon as possible by the local, provincial and All-Russian Unions.

It must include :

- (a) 11 members elected by the Congress (which must be convened at least once a year, and
- (b) The representatives of the national Trade Unions, 1 delegate per 50,000 members.

The Council must meet at least once a month.

Here again we are in the dark as to the fate of these resolutions. We have already seen that Russian legislation in 1918 allocated an important place to the Council of Government economic institutions—but we can say nothing *re* the legislation of 1919.

Mixed Organisations—Organisations of Specialists.

The debates at the first Congress indicated, in general, that the leaders of the Syndicalistic movement showed a certain distrust. These organisations must either “become proletarian” or remain outside the professional organisations. It was also insisted upon that they should embody in themselves Unions composed exclusively of workers, which could at a later date leave the mixed organisations and join themselves to their own professional Union of production. (A typical case of these mixed Unions containing internal workers’ sections is the Vikjel, a professional Union of the railways, containing in itself special Unions of firemen, greasers, etc., etc.)

With regard to these organisations the resolutions adopted at the first Congress say :—

“In Russia a whole series of Unions have come into being. Their characteristic is that they include employees, the workers and the management. These organisations have been formed chiefly among State employees . . . they are not attached to a national Union, although they contain a large proletarian element.”

Such a separate existence is explained by the fact that these Unions have a professional and political character, and secondly, by the fact that the managing circles of these mixed Unions is unwilling to submit to the professional discipline of the proletariat in general. The interest of the professional movement in Russia renders it necessary that these Unions be drawn into the general proletarian movement.

Furthermore, the centres must suggest to the corresponding Unions that they do not mix up the classes when making their laws and to see that their laws are in accordance with those of the Trade Unions of the proletariat. It is only by attention to such details that they can be included in the general industrial movement.

In such cases where the mixed organisations refuse to submit to these orders, the proletarian part of these Unions will be recommended to form interior sections having the right of uniting with the All-Russian professional movement.

As we know nothing of the life of these professional organisations in 1919, it is impossible to say whether these mixed organisations and those of specialists have still a separate and independent identity or if they have modified their laws and fused with the general movement, especially after the nationalisation of industry.

Subscriptions.

We have only a few statistical data of the first Congress on this subject. Subscriptions were collected in two ways :—

- (1) By the stoppage of a proportionate sum in the wages.
- (2) By a fixed sum.

(1) The percentage of the stoppage is very variable, from 0.5 % to 3 %. Example :—

Percentage.	Number of Trade Unions.	Number of Members.
0.5	4	21,100
1	62	1,284,500
1—2	3	21,300
2	15	69,000
3	2	24,000

2. The fixed-sum subscriptions are also very variable as may be seen from the following examples :—

Fixed Subscriptions (Roubles).	Number of Trade Unions.	Number of Members.
Less than 1	14	88,700
1	11	180,200
1—2	3	8,800
2	5	72,200

3. Details of the funds possessed by the Unions are very incomplete.

Subscription by Percentage of Wages.	No. of Unions.	No. of Members.	Funds (in Roubles).	Per Member (in Roubles).
%				
0.5	4	21,000	61,700	2.93
1	53	1,204,300	2,632,400	2.18
1—2	1	5,200	29,000	5.58
2	14	63,000	255,800	4.10
3	2	24,000	280,000	11.67
Totals ...	74	1,317,600	3,258,900	2.47

Fixed Subscriptions.	No. of Unions.	No. of Members.	Funds (in Roubles).	Per Member (in Roubles).
%				
Less than 1	12	75,900	127,400	1.68
1	12	165,700	296,100	1.73
1—2	3	8,800	63,000	7.16
2	5	72,200	243,200	3.37
Totals ...	32	212,600	729,700	3.43

These are the only statistical data we have and they refer only to a period terminating on 1 January, 1918.

Regarding payment of subscriptions, all we know is that there are two theories under consideration of the Congress, one which desires automatic payments from factory exchequers, the other which desires the payments to be made individually by the worker.

We also know that Losovski speaks frankly in favour of the second solution: "Let the collection of subscriptions be made by the workshops and let the workers know what they pay, and why, and let them pay willingly, and so consider themselves a part of the management."

We cannot learn from the resolutions passed in the Congress which of the two theories has triumphed, and all other data give us no information on the subject.

PROFESSIONAL PROBLEMS

(Nationalisation or Autonomy in 1918.)

At the first Congress there was a long discussion as to the fundamental orientation to be given to the Union movement; should it remain autonomous? Should the Trade Unions continue to defend exclusively the

interests of the workers whom they represent, or should they extend their activities and contribute to the control of production in the general interests of the community?

Should they remain neutral in the struggle against capitalism or should they, on the other hand, range themselves on the side of the State, associate themselves with its actions and share with it the responsibilities?

This question is known as the question of nationalisation of the Trade Unions, not in the sense that the State should intervene or otherwise in the internal organisation of the Trade Unions, but in the sense as to whether the Unions should collaborate or not with the State in order to attain objects of a general political or economic order.

The Congress was divided clearly into three parts: on the one hand, the Mensheviks, Right Social Revolutionaries and the Monarchist Syndicalists, who were opposed to all intervention of the Trade Unions in the struggle of Bolshevism against the Bourgeoisie; on the other hand, the Bolsheviks contended that the Unions could not observe the neutrality which would be to the advantage of the capitalists and consequently have insisted that they should collaborate with the Government in Socialist reconstruction. Lastly, the middle party, composed particularly of Left Social Revolutionaries, considered that the Trade Unions could not remain completely apart in the struggle, that they should not take a direct part in the Government, and only support by their advice and collaborate in economic questions in order to safeguard the interests of the workers. The principal regulations of the first-named party were developed particularly by Losovsky and Martoff, and may be summarised briefly as follow:—

The Trade Unions are a weapon in the hands of the working class only in so far as it is a class of wage-earners. Russia is not yet ripe for the realisation of

Socialism. If the Unions associated themselves with the Government in this attempt they might compromise themselves irremediably. Besides, the power of the workers' and peasants' Soviets is not really the power of the industrial proletariat. There are divergencies of interests between the workers and the peasants. If the Soviet Republic comes out of the struggle victorious, power will certainly come into the hands of the semi-bourgeois class, *i.e.*, peasants. What will become of the Trade Unions then? To nationalise them is to put a rope round their necks. In fine, to say that the Trade Unions will become "organs of the State power" means that if edicts issued by them have force of law and be applied *manu militari*, or otherwise, the Russian proletariat not being very cultivated, will look upon the Trade Unions as an arbitrary power and will throw itself into the arms of the monarchist syndicalists. The professional movement, therefore, cannot attach itself to a mixed organisation like the peasants' and workers' Soviets. The monarchist syndicalists were also opposed to all collaboration of the Unions with the Government, for fear of an economic centralisation which would deprive the factory and mill committees of all autonomy.

The Bolshevists supported especially the argument that the professional organisations are organs in which the struggle for Socialism should occupy a prominent place. There is no longer question of thinking exclusively of the improvement of the workers' lot, but all organisation is necessary.

Schmidt, the Commissary for Labour, added that nationalisation alone of the Trade Unions could lead to the two great practical objects of the transition period through which the Russian State is passing—to oblige producers to work and to oblige consumers to obey the rules as to distribution.

The middle party considered that the professional

movement cannot remain apart in the struggle, and that it would be strange that the proletarian advance guard should remain apart from the proletarian movement.

The professional unions should participate in the regulation of industry and in the institution of workers' control, but not directly as legislative organs. They should rather identify their objects with those of the State and in concert with it tend towards a Socialist revolution.

It would appear that the Congress adopted in the end the middle solution, and further, having affirmed the necessity for professional organisations to introduce the modifications into their statutes necessitated by their new tasks, the following new objects are enumerated :—

- (a) To represent the collective will of the workers before the directive State organ.
- (b) To organise the census and distribution of man power.
- (c) To act as intermediary between the working masses and the regulative organs of production.
- (d) To elaborate and enforce obedience to laws regulating the hours of labour, wages, hygienic conditions of workers and also of laws as to social insurance.
- (e) To supervise and increase the general and professional instruction of the workers.
- (f) To create and direct the organs of workers' control.

The legislation which we have quoted in the review at the beginning of this chapter shows us that it is the moderate solution which prevailed.

The Trade Unions, especially after the nationalisation of industries, tend to collaborate more and more closely, but always indirectly, with the State by

delegating their representatives to all Government organs which occupy themselves with production. In one thing only they act directly, *i.e.* in the elaboration of scales of wages, and here also tariffs must be approved by the Commissary for Labour. In this sense, and within these limits, the Trade Unions are State organs.

As to their development during the year 1919 and as to the new direction which appears to have been given to them quite recently (and of which we have spoken in the chapter on Workers' Control), it is a more autocratic organisation of production, the result of which would appear to be restriction of the participation of the Trade Unions; we can say nothing owing to the absence of documentation.

There is also complete absence of documentation on what may be called political relations between the Government and the Trade Unions. Is it true that the Government applies certain pressure in order that the direction of the professional movement may remain in the hands of the Bolshevik party? Is it true that all opposition to this party is suppressed even by violence? Is it true that the Mensheviks, or social revolutionary unions, have been arbitrarily dissolved and that members belonging to this party were expelled from the Unions by order of the Government? *

To all these questions we can give no answer. We have asked them here because, with all other questions which we have enumerated in this chapter, they have to be the object of enquiry on the part of the Commission.

* See Keeling, "Bolshevism," p. 156 and following.

CHAPTER XI.

NATIONALISATION OF INDUSTRY.

According to a report from Rykoff, President of the Supreme Council of Popular Economy, by 1918 about 36% of the industrial undertakings were nationalised.

According to a statement made by Prof. Miliutin, Deputy Labour Commissary, reproduced by Mr. Goode,* towards the middle of 1919 about 3,000 factories had been nationalised, or 90% of the whole industrial productivity of the country; only unimportant industries and home work had not been nationalised.

Nationalisation had then made a great advance; but it had taken place only in Russia proper, comprising about 30 *Gubernias*, not in the Ukraine, which indeed for a great part of the year had been in the hands of the anti-Bolsheviks. We may therefore declare, on the strength of this statement, which is indeed the *only evidence* we have of the development of nationalisation in Russia, that in that country industry on a large scale is not free.

DEVELOPMENT OF NATIONALISATION.

We must first trace the history of this economic process by citing the most important orders which have given effect to the principle of nationalisation; they may be found in Labry's book *Une législation communiste*, pp. 96-126.

* "Bolshevism at Work," p. 28.

The first Order goes back to 18 December, 1917, the last, of general import, to 30 June, 1918.

One preliminary remark must here be made.

The first Orders read like penal enactments, and talk of the "confiscation" of factories, whether for the company's refusal to submit to the Order introducing workers' control, or the directors' decision to close down or any other reason.

In all these cases, the assets of the "confiscated" company are declared the property of the Russian Republic, and the management of them is handed over to the People's Commissary of Commerce and Industry.*

In the majority of cases all the employees are invited to remain at their posts and carry on their work. Sometimes the threat is added that those who leave their work arbitrarily or commit acts of sabotage will be brought before the revolutionary tribunal.

In some cases the Supreme Council of Popular Economy, set up in December, 1917, takes over control of the factory, and appoints a representative as temporary Commissary to manage the business with all the rights of their legal agent. Most frequently Orders are issued by the Council of People's Commissaries, and bear the signature of Lenin, President of this Council. But it also happens in many cases that the Supreme Council of Popular Economy carries out the confiscation on its own authority and itself organises the management of the factory.

These Orders never mention the fate reserved for the owners of these businesses, but there is no doubt that they are granted no compensation for the confiscation.

* This characteristic is criticised and condemned by Miliutin in a report presented at the second plenary meeting of the Supreme Council of Popular Economy.

NATIONALISATION.

First Orders.

Nationalisation, properly so-called, already represents a second stage in the relations between the Bolshevik State and industry.

The first Order which we have been able to find is dated February, 1918, and deals with the Moscow Joint Stock Company "Electro-peredacha," the whole of whose assets pass to the ownership of the State "in view of its general importance to the State." This Order is issued by the Supreme Council of Popular Economy, which at the same time appoints as general manager Engineer Sonidvitch, assisted by a council composed of representatives of the workers and clerks of the undertaking, the council of Moscow trade unions, the trade union of Moscow electrical workers, the executive committee of the Council of Workers and Soldiers' Representatives of Bognodek, the Moscow District Council of Popular Economy, the executive committee of the Council of Workers' and Soldiers' Representatives.

Another Order of the same Council dated 27 February nationalises the mining district of Nicolai Pavdinsk, handing over the management of it to the representatives of the Council of the District Workers' Delegates and to the technical staff of the business; from then onwards, several Orders nationalise various undertakings separately, and along the same lines. It is not till May, 1918, that we find a whole industry nationalised, and that the sugar industry. This time, the Council of People's Commissaries is responsible for the measure providing for the administration of each factory (clause 3 of the Order of 8 May, 1918), and handing over the management of all the nationalised factories to the Supreme Sugar Committee under the Supreme Council of Popular Economy, which is responsible for organising immediately a commission to

carry on the factory and to wind up all the affairs of its former owners (clause 5).

This is the first time that the latter are mentioned in a Nationalisation Order. They are even asked to send in, "at the latest one week after the publication of the Order," all documents justifying their right of ownership and use. "No documents sent in after that time limit will be considered."

An Order of 22 June, 1918, organises the nationalisation of the naphtha industry on similar lines; lastly, on 30 June, 1918, an Order promulgated by the Council of People's Commissaries nationalises a large number of Russian industries.

At present the table of the results of nationalisation stands as follows :—

From October, 1917 to July, 1918, 513 businesses have been nationalised; 264, or 51·4% by the District Economic Councils, 123, or 24% by local organisations, and 100 (20%) by the Central Government.

—	State Fac- tories.	By Order of Government and of Supreme Council of Pub- lic Economy.	District Economic Councils.	Local Organi- sations.
Mining and metal- lurgy	23	50	39	2
Metal ores ...	—	18	26	5
Fuel ...	4	4	2	11
Electricity ...	—	5	1	2
Textiles ...	—	3	5	7
Chemical products	—	4	21	4
Wood and paper ...	—	—	4	1
Food products ...	—	9	19	16
Animal products ...	—	—	1	6
Stationery and printing	—	1	9	5
Transport ...	—	1	2	4
Miscellaneous ...	—	1	16	6
Total ...	27	96	145	69

	By Order of the Government and Supreme Council of Popular Economy.	District Councils of Popular Economy.	Local Organi- sations.	Total.
Mining and metallurgy	—	7	1	218
Metal ores	1	45	1	—
Fuel	—	—	—	17
Electricity	—	10	—	18
Textiles	—	7	—	26
Chemical products ...	—	8	5	42
Wood and paper ...	—	5	—	10
Food products ...	—	10	7	54
Animal products ...	—	1	5	13
Printing and stationery	—	2	—	20
Transport	—	—	—	7
Miscellaneous	—	2	1	26
Total	1	97	20	451

Order of 28 June, 1918, on the Nationalisation of the most Important Industrial and Commercial Enterprises.

This Order nationalises *en bloc* the following industries :—

Mining.
 Metallurgy and Worked Metals.
 Textile Industry.
 Technical Electricity.
 Sawmilling and Woodworking.
 Tobacco.
 Rubber.
 Glass and Pottery.

Leather.

Cement.

Steam Mills.

Public Works (gas works, tramways, canals, waterworks, etc.).

Railways.

Paper and wood pulp.

Chemical Products.

In short, practically the whole of Russian industrial productivity.

The management of each group of factories belonging to one industry is entrusted to a corresponding section of the Supreme Council of Popular Economy, except in the case of steam mills, public works and railways, which are administered respectively by the Commissariat of Supply, the Soviet of Workers, Soldiers and Peasants' Representatives, and the Commissariat of Ways of Communication.

Exceptions are made also for establishments belonging to Co-operative food-stores, to associations and their branches (clause 9).

In clause 8, "the Supreme Council of Public Economy is instructed to draw up as quickly as possible and to forward to all nationalised establishments detailed instructions of the administrative scheme and the programme of the workers' organisations as regards the carrying out of the Order."

SUBSEQUENT LEGISLATION.

It would be particularly interesting to know what was the nationalising legislation of 1919, from the point of view of influence brought to bear on the Bolshevik theory by a year's experience in the organisation of nationalised industries.

Unfortunately we have on this subject but scattered

details of information. We know, for example, that on 28 July, 1919, the principal coffee firms were nationalised, on 23 September all tea firms, and on 11 November all chicory firms ; and that the nationalisation of the colour and varnish industry was decided upon in December, 1919, by the Supreme Council of Public Economy, which entrusted the management of it to a committee of three chosen by agreement with the Chemists' Union and under the control of the Chemical Section of the Supreme Council of Popular Economy).

Note must also be made of the nationalisation on 29 December, 1919, of a button factory, the management of which is entrusted to the local branch of the Supreme Council of Popular Economy.

NATIONALISATION OF THE DONETZ MINING BASIN.

Of special importance is the suggested nationalisation of the Donetz Mining Basin. This Basin has been nationalised on a previous occasion when it fell into the hands of the Bolsheviki, but we have no particulars of the organisation then set up.

Subsequently the district fell into Denikin's hands, and was denationalised ; the pits were given back to their owners.

The return of the Soviets necessarily brought a new and radical alteration into the industrial life of this district. It would be of great importance were we able to follow in detail the successive changes of these various periods, but documentary evidence on this point is almost wholly silent.

We possess only the above-mentioned Bill which, in view of its importance, we think it worth while to

summarise rather fully. The Bill has been submitted for the approval of the Supreme Council of Popular Economy.

“ At one of the last meetings of the Governing Body of the Central Coal Administration (‘ Glavugol’) measures for the organisation of the coal industry in the Red Basin were considered. A certain number of measures were prepared for submission to the Governing Body of the Supreme Council of Public Economy :—

“ (1) The question of nationalising coal undertakings :—

“ (a) The nationalisation announced in May, 1919, by the Ukrainian Council of Public Economy and the ‘ Glavugol ’ must be confirmed, but only in undertakings considered capable of being carried on.

“ (b) Obligations incurred during the period of temporary denationalisation of undertakings, the nationalisation of which was announced in the preceding regulation, cannot be recognised by the State.

“ (c) Subsequent nationalisation will be effected at the request of the ‘ Collegium ’ (College) of the ‘ Glavugol ’ by means of the Governing Body of the Supreme Council of Popular Economy.

“ (d) In the case of certain undertakings which have no Director or legal agent competent to deal with financial operations, etc., a provisional Administrative Committee will be appointed to decide which of these industries are capable of being carried on, and then to proceed immediately to their nationalisation, without regard to their size ; the others must at once be wound up, and,

should it be necessary, their property, reserves, etc., should be transferred to the nationalised undertakings.

“(2) As for the organisation of their management :—

“(a) The ‘Glavugol’ must establish its representative body at Kharkov and set about rebuilding the central organisation of the Donetz Basin as it was in the spring ; two members of the ‘Glavugol,’ one member of the Trade Union and one member of the *College* of the ‘Glavugol’ will compose this representative body ; one member of the College of the ‘Glavugol’ will be appointed as representative.

“(b) The coal sections of the local Councils of Popular Economy cannot carry out organising measures without the authorisation of the ‘Glavugol.’

“(c) In cases of necessity representative district bodies of the ‘Glavugol’ or of the Central Administration may be set up under the district Councils of Popular Economy ; they may ultimately become District Mining Administrations.

“(d) In the case of coal undertakings closely bound up with metallurgic concerns, joint administrative bodies may be organised composed of three persons appointed by the ‘Glavugol’ for the management of mines, and three appointed by the Metal Section as factory directors. These two joint groups of three members each constitute the general management of the whole undertaking ; for dealing with questions connected with undertakings of this type, such as the approval of accounts, etc., an inter-departmental body consisting of representatives of the ‘Glavugol’

and the Metal Section will be organised under the Governing Body of the Supreme Council of Popular Economy.

“(3) With regard to the financial question :—

“(a) It is absolutely essential that 300 million roubles should be advanced at once to the ‘Glavugol’ for working expenses, and 50 million roubles for the re-establishment of industrial undertakings.

“(b) The financing of nationalised undertakings must be carried on by means of loans redeemable after a short period (not longer than 6 months) by means of coal production.

“(c) Advances for the re-establishment of undertakings will be granted at the special request of the representative body of the ‘Glavugol,’ and the *College* of the ‘Glavugol’ will be duly informed.

“(4) As to the relations between the ‘Glavugol’ and the Principal Fuel Committee, the Commission for Fuel Monopoly (*Monotop*) and other Liquidation Commissions should be wound up by agreement between the ‘Glavugol’ and the Principal Fuel Committee.”

Here, too, as in all the preceding Orders, the supreme authority, to which all nationalised undertakings are subordinated, is the Supreme Council of Popular Economy, of which we must now say a few words.

The Supreme Council of Popular Economy.

The Council was created and organised by two Orders, the first of 18 December, 1917, the other of 14 August, 1918.

Powers.

The former defines the functions of the Council ; this part was not modified by the second Order. These functions are detailed in clauses 2 and 3.

Clause 2. The Supreme Council of Popular Economy must organise the economic activity of the nation and the financial resources of the Government. To this end the S.C.P.E. will work out the programme and the leading ideas which will direct the regular organisation of the economic activity of the country, and will concentrate towards one single goal the energies of the various central and local institutions (fuel, metal and transport councils, central food committee, etc., People's Commissariats of Trade and Industry, of Supply, Agriculture, Finance, Navy, War, etc., etc.) of the Council of Labour Control of the whole of Russia, as well as the efforts of works and factory organisations and other Trade Unions of the working class.

Clause 3. The S.C.P.E. has the right to confiscate, to requisition, to sequester, as well as to compel the various branches of industry and trade to combine and to take all measures concerning production, the distribution of products and of the financial resources of the Government.

The Order of 14 August, 1918, defines even more clearly the powers of the Council. Clause 4 treats of an important function : the financing of industries. With this function the S.C.P.E. becomes the supreme regulator of the nation's industrial life. The financial function is particularly important, inasmuch as it gives full autonomy to the Council. This was indeed indispensable.

Already in April, 1918, (see "Izvestia," 26 April) at a meeting of the Council, Larin had pointed out the disparity between nationalised industry and the

administration of finances. Nationalised undertakings had often to cease work for lack of funds. He therefore declared himself strongly in favour of centralising the financing of undertakings.

Composition.

In clause 5 of the Order of December, 1917, the composition of the S.C.P.E. was laid down as follows :—

- (1) All-Russian Council of Labour Control.
- (2) Representatives of all the People's Commissariats.
- (3) Individuals chosen for their ability, but with only advisory powers.

This composition was modified by the second Order, which further entrusted to it the preliminary examination of all Budget estimates.

The following description taken from Ransome's book (pp. 83, 84) appears to give fairly accurately the composition and scope of the S.C.P.E. :—

“ This Council, the theorists tell me, is intended to become the central organisation of the State. The Soviets will naturally become less and less important as instruments of political transition as that transition is completed and the struggle against reaction within and without comes to an end. Then the chief business of the State will no longer be to protect itself against enemies but to develop its economic life, to increase its productivity and to improve the material conditions of the workers of whom it is composed. All these tasks are those of the Supreme Council of Public Economy, and as the bitterness of the struggle dies away this body, which came into being almost unnoticed in the din of battle, will become more and

more important in comparison with the Soviets, which were in origin not constructive organisations but the instruments of a revolution, the hardest stages of which have already been accomplished.

"It is perhaps worth while to set out here the constitution of this Council. It is considered at present as the economic department of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee, to which, and to the Council of People's Commissaries, it is responsible. It regulates all production and distribution. It reports on the various estimates of the State budget and, in conjunction with the Commissariats of Finance and State Control, carries out the financing of all branches of public economy. It consists of 69 members, and is composed as follows :—

"Ten representatives from the All-Russian Executive Committee, thirty from the All-Russian Industrial Productive Union (a union of Trade Unions), twenty from the ten District Councils of Popular Economy, two from the All-Russian Council of Workers' Co-operative Societies, and one representative each from the Commissariats of Supply, Ways of Communication, Labour, Agriculture, Finance, Trade and Industry, and Internal Affairs. It meets as a whole at least once in every month. The work of its members is directed by a Præsidium of nine members, of which it elects eight, the President being elected by the All-Russian Central Executive Committee, and enjoying the rank of a People's Commissary or Minister."

The Central Directorates of Nationalised Industries.

Machinery of capital importance in the administration of nationalised industries is set up by the Central Directorates established in connection with the Supreme Council of Popular Economy.

The composition of these Directorates, as indicated by clause 17 of the Order of 7 March, 1918, is as follows :

“ *Clause 17.* A Central Directorate for each nationalised industry (principal Committee) is established in connection with the Supreme Council of Popular Economy and is composed as follows : One-third of workers’ and clerks’ representatives of the industry concerned, one-third of representatives of proletarian government, political, and economic organisations and institutes (Supreme Council of Popular Economy, Council of National Trade Unions, National Council of Workers’ Co-operatives, Central Executive Committee of Councils of Workers’ Representatives) and one-third of representatives of scientific organisations, of the technical and higher grade business staff and of national democratic organisations (National Council of Co-operative Food Committees, Councils of Peasants’ Delegates).

“ Each group of factories forming a separate industry is placed under the control of a Central Directorate which combines in its hands (clause 20) :

- “ (a) The management of the enterprises in the industry concerned.
- “ (b) Distribution of the financial resources.
- “ (c) Amalgamation or technical re-organisation.
- “ (d) Settlement of conditions of work.”

But besides these powers, and the better to make use of them, the Central Directorates have other rights which give them absolute control over the industry in their charge. The most important of these rights are :

- (1) Monopoly of (clauses 23 and 24) foreign import and export.
- (2) The right to concentrate into their own hands, and in the institutions set up by them, the

whole supply of what is needed for the industry concerned (raw materials, tools, etc.), as well as the disposal by sale of all the produce of the enterprises under their control and the acceptance by them of fresh orders.

For local action, the Central Directorate may establish district or local boards for the industry concerned on the same basis as those of their own organisation.

The Central Directorates are in close touch with the Supreme Council of Popular Economy, from which they receive, as instructions, regulations, etc., general injunctions to guide their actions.

Summary of the Organisation of Nationalised Enterprises.

It was inevitable that a measure so tremendous as the nationalisation, *en bloc*, of the industries of a whole country as huge as Russia should involve the setting up of an extremely complicated organisation. It is therefore useful to summarise briefly its hierarchic system and *modus operandi*.

At the centre of the whole organisation is the Supreme Council of Popular Economy, which is a kind of Ministry of Public Economy, with much wider powers than those of any other European Ministerial Department. It is, indeed, enough to remember that the Council has the right to confiscate or nationalise any factory or enterprise, and to regulate absolutely the economic life of the country or of any particular undertaking.

The soul of the Council is, of course, its Executive Office at the head of which we find particularly three men ; Krassine, Rykov and Miliutin.

It goes without saying that the Council is in its turn subordinate to the Council of the People's Commissaries. The Council is elective, the predominant elements coming from the trade-unions and the district Councils of Popular Economy.

The Council is divided into sections, each of which controls an industry or group of industries.

The Council draws up the general financial scheme for the whole of the nationalised industries. It directs the economic policy of the country.

To it are attached the central directorates, also elective bodies with a preponderance of local and technical elements; each directorate has the practical management of a specified industry, which management is carried out with the help of the district and local directorates set up by the central ones.

Though subordinate to the Council in questions of finance and the general policy of each industry, the central directorates have a good deal of independence within the limits of their own industry.

They distribute the amounts appropriate to each industry among the factories which make up the group, supply them with raw materials, dispose of their products and appoint the managing staff (technical or administrative).

Each factory in its turn is controlled by the Economic Administrative Council whose powers, however, are limited to the administrative sphere, and by the Works Committee which deals almost exclusively with the discipline of the workers and the labour relations between the management and the workers.

To complete this picture it seems worth while to reproduce the following passage from Goode's book (p. 29), which sums up the statements of the Deputy Commissary of the Supreme Council of Popular Economy :

“ The head of every factory is a college of management of from three to five persons, a mixture of workers and specialists. But the people elected on this body must be ratified by the special section of the Supreme Council of National Economics at Moscow under which the particular factory falls.

"The 3,000 factories are divided into State trusts, as, for instance, machine making, sugar making. In all there are some ninety trusts, of which forty are concerned with textile manufactures. Each of these trusts comes under the management of the particular section of the Supreme Council of Economics which is occupied with the industries they represent. Of these sections there are sixty, out of which fifty are concerned with production, ten with distribution, or are of a general character (statistical, legal, inspection, etc.). Control would seem to be pretty complete, since the first elective management is controlled by a trust, which in turn is controlled by a section, the whole controlled by the Supreme Council.

"I was curious about the *trusts*, and he replied that each has its own administration appointed by the section of the Supreme Council under whose jurisdiction the trust falls. Further, that the function of a trust is much the same as that of a board of directors of a capitalist company. It distributes to the factories which form it raw materials, engineers; it regulates their output and controls their financial operations."

LOCAL ORGANISATION OF NATIONALISED INDUSTRY.

This organisation was set up by the Orders of 3 January and 7 March, 1918, supplemented by instructions to the Councils of works and factories.

It may be summarised as follows :—

Each factory is administered :—

(Clause 1.) 1. "By a director and a manager appointed by the authorised section of the Supreme

Council of Popular Economy, or, in more important enterprises, by several technical and managing directors, appointed by the same authority."

(Clause 8.) 2. "The Managing Director is assisted by an administrative economic council consisting of :—

- " (a) Representatives of the workers in the enterprises.
- " (b) Representatives of the employees.
- " (c) Representatives of the technical and higher commercial staff.
- " (d) The director of the enterprise.
- " (e) Representatives of the local or district trade unions Council, of the local Council of Public Economy, of the Council of Workers' Delegates, and of the trade union of the industry to which the particular enterprise belongs.
- " (f) A representative of the Council of the Workers' Co-operation.
- " (g) A representative of the Council of Peasants' Delegates of the district concerned.

The number of workers' and employees' representatives may not exceed half of the total number of members of the Council.

The economic administrative Council has an advisory voice in questions of the technical management of the enterprise ; and a deliberative voting voice in other questions ; but the managing director may appeal against the Council's decisions to the Commissary Chairman of the authorised section of the Supreme Council (clause 4).

The technical director appoints the technical employees and gives all orders concerning the technical management of the enterprise. The Works Committee may appeal to the authorised central directorate (clause 2).

The managing director carries out the decisions of the economic administrative Council (clause 5).

This Council examines and approves the decisions and declarations of the Works' Committee.

It must communicate to its central directorate at least every three months' the scheme and programme of its labours.

It may request this section to remove the directors of the enterprise and may name their successors.

Alongside the economic administrative Council and the Works Committee, an Order of 3 January, 1918, sets up District Councils of Popular Economy, composed as follows (clause 2) :--

- (a) Representatives elected at the joint meetings of the trade unions, works' committees and agrarian committees.
- (b) Representatives of the Councils of Soldiers', Workers' and Peasants' delegates.
- (c) Representatives of Workers' and Democratic Co-operatives.
- (d) Representatives of the technical managing and commercial directorates of the district enterprises.

The number of these last may not exceed a third of the total number of members of the Council.

The district Council is divided into sections which correspond roughly to the sections of the Supreme Council of Popular Economy; it has also an executive committee,. The powers of the district Council are very varied. They are, in general, the local organisations of the Supreme Council of Popular Economy. They deal with all district economic questions, assess the needs of the district in raw materials, fuel, etc., distribute orders amongst the various enterprises, fix the basis on which labour

and raw materials are allotted to enterprises, investigate disputes which have not been settled on the spot, etc.

In short, they are the local organisations of control and consultation; their instructions, by clause 7, must be obeyed and carried out by all the local institutions, including the directorates of enterprises; only they have not the right to suspend or annul; this is reserved for the Supreme Council of Popular Economy.

Among the other powers of the local district Councils, the clause mentions: "the question, under the control of the Supreme Council of Popular Economy, of private enterprises which have become the property of the Republic."

It is however probable that, by the virtue of the subsequent Order of 7 March, 1918, on the management of nationalised enterprises, this limitation was modified so far as to leave to the district Councils, not the management (which is entrusted by this last Order, first to the central directorate and the local directorates of each industry, and after them to the directors and economic administrative council of each enterprise), but a sort of auxiliary control over this management.

It must be admitted that all we have said so far *re* legislation on the nationalisation of industry is rather vague. We only know the general lines of the organisation; facts as to its carrying out are wanting. How does the Supreme Council really act? Have we here the principle of working by committees, or is it the power of one man disguised under this principle? Of what is the Council formed? What are its relations with the Council of People's Commissaries? What authority has it over local bodies coming under its jurisdiction and other local bodies? Does it really succeed in centralising around itself the management of all industries, or have we really, behind the visible mechanism, all the old struggles for power

which formerly existed? How does this bureaucratic machine work in practice? What defects, what advantages has it? These and others are points requiring explanation, but for which unfortunately the documents available are inadequate.*

* Several days after the penning of the above, we are in receipt of a radio (in English) from which, it would appear, we can gather that there has been a radical change in the organisation of the nationalisation of industry. The text of the radio is very ambiguous, but its meaning seems to be as follows :—

“ The immensity of Russia, disorganisation of transport, and the changeable conditions of production do not permit of total centralisation in the hands of the Supreme Council of National Economy. Consequently decentralisation is necessary. This will be done by subordinating the factories of districts to local economic bodies, to whom ample powers and certain independence of the Supreme Council will be given.”

If we have grasped the sense of the radio correctly, we are face to face with a radical change of policy.

CHAPTER XII.

MATERIAL RESULTS OF NATIONALISATION.

Of all the problems dealt with in our inquiry, none perhaps has been more prominently discussed, none at the same time remains more disputed, than this one.

Documentary evidence is indeed not lacking; on the contrary, it is superabundant, the Bolsheviks themselves having in no whit concealed the present lamentable condition of Russian industry. One might even suspect them of having at times purposely over-coloured the picture. But when we proceed to examine causes, we find ourselves face to face with two contradictory opinions. Some who are hostile to the Soviet system accuse it, if not of being the sole cause of this ruin, at least of having quickened its coming by their hasty and ill-organised nationalisation. Others, who are Bolsheviks, ascribe the catastrophe to causes wholly unconnected with nationalisation.

In their opinion these causes are :—

- (1) The inheritance of five years of war.
- (2) The civil war instigated by the Allies.
- (3) The demobilisation of industry.
- (4) The blockade which, by depriving Russia of raw materials and machinery for transport and production, completed the disorganisation of industry, prevented the provisioning of the district centres and so impaired the workers' productivity.

In the present state of documentary evidence, it is almost impossible to express a definite opinion on this question.

If the Bolshevik Government had published a complete detailed Budget for 1918 and 1919 of the

administration of the Supreme Council of Popular Economy, it would have been possible for us to form a definite idea of the results achieved and to determine their causes. But such a Budget has not been published, or if it has it has not reached our hands; in any case, none of the writers quoted by us mention it. Information on this subject, from whatever source it comes, though abundant is always fragmentary, so that almost all its value is lost.

We must therefore confine ourselves to reproducing these fragments, arranging them in the order best fitted to give a series of general pictures of Russian industry at the various periods of 1918 and 1919. In every case the details given have been taken from official Russian documents.

Let us take first a description published in No. 55 of the paper, "Finance and National Economy," which summarises the results of an inquiry made by the Commissariat of Labour in Petrograd.

The inquiry is partial, for it includes but one town; still it deals with one of the principal industrial centres in Russia.

On 1 January, 1917, there were in Petrograd and the surrounding district 343,000 workers employed in large-scale industry and 99,000 in small-scale industry.

The inquiry of the Commissariat of Labour dealt with 96 enterprises with 292,662 workers, that is to say, 98.5 % of all the workers in large-scale industry, or 77.5 % of the total number of workers.

Between January, 1917, and October, 1918, of the 140 enterprises which replied to the inquiry, 44 stopped working.

The decline has been particularly great in the metal industry (from 74 the number of factories fell to 40).

Between 1 January, 1917, and 1 October, 1918, in enterprises employing more than 500 workers (on 1 January, 1917), the following changes took place:—

	1 Jan., 1917.	1 Jan., 1918.	1 May, 1918.	1 July, 1918.	1 Aug., 1918.	1 Sept., 1918.	1 Oct., 1918.
Textiles	36,454	32,473	26,784	25,653	24,436	24,188	23,944
Paper and printing industry	12,332	14,694	11,990	11,414	12,574	11,531	11,436
Wood-working	645	388	122	258	268	218	225
Metals	226,760	185,502	54,085	48,878	45,794	42,987	41,963
Industry for conversion of mineral products	1,034	—	—	—	—	—	—
Industry for conversion of animal products	9,252	6,954	5,142	5,362	5,253	5,041	4,912
Food production	9,409	8,467	7,942	7,872	7,731	7,414	7,519
Chemical industry	42,867	40,554	10,265	7,415	7,094	6,631	6,494
Miscellaneous	3,953	3,050	2,321	2,172	2,135	981	797
Total	342,706	292,082	118,651	109,024	105,285	98,991	97,290

The greatest decrease in the number of workers took place on 1 May, 1918 (falling almost to a third).

Between 1 May, 1917, and 1 October, 1918, the decrease in the various branches of industry is shown on the following table :—

The number of workers fell by :—

		%
Textile industry	12,510	34·3
Paper and printing industry	896	7·3
Wood-working	420	65·1
Metal-working industry	184,797	81·5
Conversion of mineral products	1,034	100
Conversion of animal products	4,340	—
Food production	1,890	20
Chemical industries	36,373	84
Miscellaneous	3,156	79·8

On industry in Petrograd, the "Izvestia" of 16 March, 1918, informs us that, according to the figures of the Statistical Section, of the total number of 670 industrial enterprises existing in 1917 in Petrograd and district, 246 have shut down.

The number of workers discharged in 86,000 ; 95 of the enterprises completely shut down belong to the metal industry.

Description of Russian Industries for the year 1918.

We now come to a description, richer in data this time, of the conditions of industry in Russia given by Sokoloff in his "Les bolchévistes jugés par eux-mêmes" (pp. 44-47). He bases his facts on a series of numbers of various Russian papers for March and April, 1919, the originals of which we have not been able to obtain.

"However, in spite of nationalisation (perhaps even thanks to it) Russian industry is doing the Russian State great harm.

" The tobacco industry is going through an acute crisis. For one month the Petrograd factories showed a deficit of 2,000,000 roubles. (Conference of tobacco workers, 25 April, 1919. See 'Izvestia,' No. 89.)

" According to the figures of the printing-trade section, eighteen nationalised printing-works in Petrograd suffered for the year 1919 a deficit of about 13,800,000 roubles. ('Pravda,' No. 108 of 17 May, 1919.)

" The Soviet Government is subsidising the nationalised industries heavily.

" By itself alone the metal section of the Supreme Council of Public Economy, during one single month (January) paid to various metal works the sum of 1,167,295,000 roubles ('Economicheskaya Jizn,' No. 50). The central organisation of the copper industry (Centralomied) has received into its coffers 1,193,990,000 roubles (*ibid.*).

" The central organisation which controls the textile factories (Centrotextile) received 3,500,000,000 roubles as subsidies for the nationalised textile factories. ('Economicheskaya Jizn,' No. 43, 1919.)

" In spite of this support, production fell off greatly; as a result factories closed down *en masse* for lack of fuel and raw materials.

" As far as one may consider these as prime causes, one may say that they are the result of the disorganisation and general disorder in the conduct of affairs. We shall return to that later.

" Whatever the reasons for it may be, Russian industry is being rapidly ruined.

" All the textile factories in Petrograd, nineteen in number, are closed. About 30,000 workmen are idle. ('Severnaya Kommuna,' No. 108, May, 1919.)

" The number of industrial enterprises in Moscow fell from the 681 which existed in 1917 to 173 on

1 March, 1919. ('Economicheskaya Jizn,' No. 51. Report of the Moscow Council of Popular Economy.)

"In the administrative area of Novgorod, 162 large enterprises, or three-quarters of the total number, are not working for want of raw materials. ('Severnaya Kommuna,' No. 37.) The Bolshevik, Anissimoff states that the industry of the district of Olonetz is ruined. Of 21 large enterprises only 6 are working. (Congress of Northern District Councils of Popular Economy, March, 1919.)

"The condition of the tobacco industry is painful. The number of enterprises has fallen by more than half and production by 300 %. (Congress of Tobacco Workers, March 1919.)

"The production of butter is going through an acute crisis. In the administration of Saratoff, for instance, which had 735 factories, large, medium and small, only the large ones, 19 in number, and a few of the medium ones are working. Production has fallen 250 %.

"In 1917 were produced 1,790,000 poods.

"In 1918 " " 710,000 "

"In 1919 a still greater decrease is expected. ('Economicheskaya Jizn,' No. 55, March 1919.)

"The sugar industry of Great Russia is passing through a painful time. Instead of the 6,000, 00 poods of sugar, normal in 1917, only 1,542,900 poods were produced. But, worse still, is the decrease in head of cattle in the sugar producing districts.

"Instead of 16,262 head counted in 1917, in 1919 there were only 5,204. ('Economicheskaya Jizn,' No. 49, 1919.)

"The glass industry is ruined. Only a fifth of the existing enterprises are working, and these with difficulty. Production has sunk by more than 1,000 %. (Conference of Glass Workers, February, 1919.)

"The paper industry has fallen off considerably. The number of machines not working is 23 out of 48. Instead of an average of 8,000,000 poods of paper, only 1,555,000 poods will be produced for six months of the year 1919. (No. 44 of the 'Economicheskaya Jizn.')

In other words, production has fallen 25 %. In particular, five large factories in Petrograd (Golodaiev-skaia, Krasnoselskaia, Slavianskaia, Nevskaia and Doubrovskaaia) produced for the three months, October to December, 1918, 293,103 poods of paper, though the average for the year 1917 was, for the same period, 1,500,000 poods. ('Severnaya Kommuna,' No. 102, 10 May, 1919.)

"But the repercussion of Russian affairs has been felt above all in the metal industry. The number of workers employed therein fell from 239,000 in January, 1917, to 43,000 on 1 October, 1918. ('Economicheskaya Jizn,' No. 49, 4 March.) In other words, the decrease amounts to 500 %.

"In drawing up their general budget, the Soviet Press states that the number of workers employed in industry exclusive of those on railways (in Soviet Russia, that is, 28 administrative areas) had decreased by 2,402,000 men up to 1 January, 1919 ('Severnaya Kommuna.')

But production fell much more.

"For the greater number of the branches of Russian industry the decrease in production may be estimated at 400-500 %. (Extract from the report of the Supreme Council of Popular Economy, March 1919.)"

This description is completed by an article of Kerensky's in "Pour la Russie" (17 December, 1919).

"Here, too, data have been borrowed from various numbers of the journal, 'Economicheskaya Jizn,' of 15 September to 16 October, 1919."

The following is an extract from the article :

“SITUATION OF ‘NATIONALISED’ INDUSTRY.

“I.—*Cotton Industry.*

“In 1915 Russia, including Poland and Finland, had 10,285,000 spindles and 249,920 looms. The strength of the Nationalised Cotton Industry is assessed at 6,900,962 spindles and 164,226 looms. These would require every year 18,000,000 poods of cotton, or 1,300,000 poods a month, and 14,000,000 poods of spun cotton. For the first eight months of 1919 this nationalised industry received 377,311 poods of cotton, or 3·77% of its requirements, 98,673 poods of spun cotton and 23,232 poods of cotton yarn, or 4·7% of its requirements. As a matter of fact, but 300,000 spindles and 18,182 looms were working by 1 September. Cottonised flax was tried as a substitute for cotton, but gave no satisfactory result.

“*The Moscow District.*—On 1 January, 1919, there were 48,490 textile workers. Within 6 months this figure fell to 15,290, that is, to 35%; the number of workers employed in the cotton industry in particular fell to 47·2%. The textile workers at present employed are distributed as follows, according to their age and sex: Men, 34·3%; boys, 3·3%; women, 59·1%; girls, 3·3%.

“In the *Petrograd District*, of 27 cotton factories only 3 are now working (3 October). On the subject of the ‘strength’ of the nationalised cotton industry the Soviet journal gives the figure of 6,000,000 spindles, etc.; in reality this ‘strength’ exists only on paper, and the effective productivity of this industry was, by the autumn of 1919 (that is, at the height of its production), ridiculously small. At the most, only 4·3% of the spindles and 11% of the looms were working out of all those in operation in Russia (not counting

Poland and Finland) before November, 1917. At the present moment the activity of the nationalised cotton factories is reduced practically to nothing. What is more, the numerical connection between spindles and looms shows that it is mainly the small and medium-sized factories which are working. On the other hand, the really important factories such as the Tsindel, Prokhorov, etc., are completely idle; their plant and buildings have been simply handed over to safe keeping; the tens and hundreds of workers who were employed in these factories have scattered over the country.

"Turkestan Cotton.—The area sown amounted this year to 85,000 hectares (212,500 acres). The average crop was from 60 to 70 poods per hectare. The price of raw cotton was fixed by the Congress of peasant cultivators at 460 roubles per pood and by the Commission of the cotton industry at 250 roubles the pood; the Supreme Council of Public Economy ratified the latter price. This crop will be used by the Co-operatives. There remained over from the last crop 2,000,000 poods.

"Of the cotton-clearing factories (239) only 16% are actually working, and that but half-heartedly, for lack of fuel, on only 15 days each month. Under these conditions it would take two years to produce a little more than 12 million poods of raw cotton. The area sown has actually decreased 'through lack of confidence in the Government' by 30,000 hectares in proportion to the extent of last year's sowing; that is 7.2% of the normal area sown (680,000 hectares). Thus, under the most favourable conditions this 'powerful nationalised' industry cannot count on obtaining, in 1919-1920, more than one-third of the cotton it needs. The reduction this autumn of the area sown to 7.2% of the normal, brings down to nothing the only independent source of cotton for Russian

industry, and makes it entirely dependent on imported foreign cotton ; the ' Socialist nationalised ' industry thus becomes the absolute slave of foreign capital, especially American. Does not this collapse of the Russian cotton industry explain the strange attraction exercised by Moscow Communism over the plutocracy of Manchester and New York ?

“ II.—*Large-Scale Metallurgy—Petrograd.*

“ In all the factories a constant decrease in the number of workers and an increase in voluntary unemployment are noticeable. The total number of workers amounted to 12,141, while 7,585 or 62·4% were working efficiently. Thus at the engineering and shipbuilding works of the Neva, now closed down, the figures of voluntary unemployment were in the first half of July 56%, in the second half 70%, and in the first half of August 84%. Of the total number of workers actually occupied, there were 440 men or 33%, the rest were women, and children. Of 7,500 workers who counted as belonging to Putilov, only 2,800 or 37·3% were working on the 15th August.

“ The condition of large-scale metallurgy in Petrograd shows particularly clearly the disaster suffered by the Russian proletariat during the ' proletarian Dictatorship ' and the degree of decay reached by nationalised industry according to the Bolshevist System. The group of large metallurgic works in Petrograd (the Putilov, Neva, Baltic, Obukhov, Baron, and other works) was once the most powerful in the country. Their technical plant was as good as the best in Western Europe, and sometimes even surpassed it (for instance, the Putilov works). They employed from 100 to 150 thousand workers. The Metalworkers' Union was the strongest and most advanced of the

workers' organisations in the capital; the skilled workers of the great metallurgic factories were the core of this Union and with those of the Printers' Union constituted the elite of the educated workers. To-day the industry of Petrograd is in its death-throes. Factories are ceasing to exist one after the other. The number of workers has fallen to 5—7% of the normal.

"The plight of the engineering and metallurgic works in the provinces (at Kolomma, Sermove, Tula, Briansk, in the Ural district) is, according to the 'Ekonomitcheskaya Jizn,' just as bad.* It is noteworthy that the Ural works were definitely demolished by Koltchak, in most barbarous fashion, when the Ural was evacuated. Statistical evidence on the Metallurgists' Union shows that here, too, small enterprises stand Bolshevisation better than large ones.

" III.—Leather Industry. Productivity of the Nationalised Factories of the Moscow District.

"Taking as the normal production for this district that of 1918 (already rather low), we find that in 1919 the production of the large nationalised factories fell to 43%, and in the non-nationalised factories to 62%.

"The manufacture of small skins fell in the nationalised factories to 66%, and in the non-nationalised to 18%. Thus in the leather industry also we observe greater activity in the small enterprises, particularly in non-nationalised industries. The great falling off in the production of the large non-nationalised factories is explained, according to the Soviet journal itself, by the fact that the 'Leather

* "Taking as the standard of comparison the average production of 1916, we find that the Kolomma factory gave 17%, that of Myhchti 27%, the others from 40 to 70%. In general, the factories of this group supply only 33% of the 1916 production.

Centre,' that is to say, the administration responsible for the management of this industry, obtains the necessary materials—tannin, fuel, etc.—first and in the largest quantities for its 'nationalised factories.'

" IV.—*Rubber Industry.*

" The same phenomena here are observable: decrease in the number of workers, falling-off in production, etc. Thus the manufacture of rubber galoshes fell to 8% of the normal.

" V.—*Paper.*

" Similar situation.

" VI.—*Manufacture of Matches.*

" In four match-factories in the Northern district, with a nominal roll of 2,000 workers, production fell in October to 5%, as a result of the departure *en masse* of workers who left to seek bread, and also through the fact that the workers are busy with agricultural labour and the off-loading of fuel wood.

" VII.—*Manufacture of Electric Lamps.*

" The 'Aivaz' factory in Petrograd stopped working through lack of skilled workers and technical staff; the Moscow factories are idle for want of gas.

" VIII.—*Sugar.*

" The almost complete liquidation of the sugar industry is forcing the Soviet Government to have recourse to experiments in the manufacture of sugar with sawdust."

Supplementary data concerning Russian Industries in 1919 (Official Bolshevik Source).

Supplementary data are contained in the information bulletin of the French Commercial Office for Russia and neighbouring countries dated January 1920, published by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Paris.

This bulletin quotes *in extenso* a report of the Economic Section of *Sovnarkhoz* (Council of Popular Economy) on the occasion of the second anniversary of the Bolshevik Revolution.

After exposing in detail the appalling crisis in fuel and transport, the document gives the following particulars on other industries :

Flax.—The flax industry is in a better state. Of 72 nationalised factories, 48 were working in October, 54 in November. Stocks of flax amount to 5,646,958 poods. Commissions of experts are busy putting into practice better methods of working the raw material.

The situation of the *hemp* factories is bad, owing to the decrease in the acreage sown. Of 23 nationalised factories only 13 are working.

The *silk* industry is paralysed for lack of raw materials—49 factories have been nationalised and 23 are working. As “factory stocks” there are 11,876 poods, and in the warehouses of Moscow and the Volga 20,852 poods.

The *knitting* factories have been nationalised and the whole 34 are working.

Wool.—For the wool factories the problem is entirely one of fuel. The stocks of wool on 1 October totalled 725,000 poods and those of wool-rag 677,638 poods. No increase in these stocks must be expected.

By 1 October, of 112 nationalised factories 36 were working ; by November 52. Stocks of material and

cloth on 1 September were 61,788,160 arshines ; two factories of fine cloth can produce in six months 2 million arshines, 16 factories less well furnished can turn out 1,000,000 arshines and 13,000 poods of spun wool.

As regards *thread*, stocks on 1 September were 77,733 gross.

Besides the terrible question of *fuel* and *food supply*, the problem of the workers is difficult to solve because of the recruiting needs of the Red Army ; the classification of the workers is badly done. For lack of men, they have to turn to women, for the working population is being taken at random.

But before everything else, we must master the fuel crisis in order to save the *textile industry* from its approaching ruin.

In Petrograd the situation is disastrous.

About 300 factories in Petrograd have had to shut down for the winter, for want of fuel.

The attention of the Commissariat of Economy has been called to the necessity for saving the large factories from ruin, like the Nevsky and Franco-Russian works. Orders have been given to empty vats and boilers, to take down and clean the finer damageable parts, to grease the more delicate machinery and sheet it over with tarpaulins and paper.

Of the 5 large and 12 small factories which, in 1919 produced 900,000 poods of paper, only 2 are actually working.

After this general account of the industrial conditions in Russia, it seems useless to reproduce other evidence regarding particular enterprises, for it follows directly from what has been said that the situation has but grown worse during 1918 and 1919. This fact is incontestable : it is admitted from all sides. It is only on its historical and economic interpretation that there is a difference of opinion. Is it nationalisation solely

which is the cause of the destruction of Russian industry? Does State ownership of industry lead to its ruin? Is there an incompatibility in the terms, prosperous industry and State management? Or, on the contrary, is the downfall of Russian industry due to transitory causes of a historic, psychological and economic kind? Is a State capable of managing the entire industry or merely a part of it? It is useless to lay emphasis on the enormous importance of this question. The only methods of solving it are detailed figures, examination of factory books, comparing present results with pre-war results and by a general survey of all Bolshevist industrial legislation. These documents are wanting. It is only after examination of such that an opinion can be given on the subject.

Productivity of the Worker.

There is, however, one fact which might, to a certain extent, enlighten us on the subject, and that is the productivity of the worker.

Has this productivity increased or diminished under the new regime?

To this question Sokoloff * in his book already cited ("Les bolchévistes jugés par eux-mêmes," pp. 47-50) gives the following answer:—

In the Novinskaya and Revutovskaya factories which, supplied with all their needs, might have worked with practically the output of the preceding years, it appears ("Economicheskaya Jizn," No. 52, 1919) "that a great falling-off in production has been observed." Here are the particulars:—

Six months of the year 1917: number of days worked, 130½; average number of men working daily, 2,546; amount of material spun, 107,314 poods.

* Pp. 47—50.

Six months of 1918 : number of days worked, 122 ; average number of men working daily, 2,742 ; amount of material spun, 66,518 poods.

In other words, in spite of the increased number of workers, production fell off by almost half. What is the cause of this phenomenon ? It lies in the decreased productivity of the worker. The following figures illustrate this clearly (" *Economicheskaya Jizn*," No. 50, 5 March, 1919).

Work at the Shcherbatchoff factory :

Length of Material produced in Hours.

	1916.	1918.	%
Fustian	10.5	17.0	62
Coarse calico	13.0	22.0	68

Consequently the appreciable drop in the workers' productivity has much to do with the falling off in the production of industrial enterprises.

Inquiries made in 46 textile factories supplied with all their requirements give an almost similar picture.

For Four Months of the Year 1917.

Average number of workers a day ..	56,782
Number of regular workers	44,083
Production in thousands of poods ..	1,227
Production of tissues in one hour per 1,000 looms	21
Production of tissues during 1,000 hours of work	15

During the Four Months of the Year 1918.

Average number of workers in the day	67,853
Number of regular workers	46,776
Production in thousands of poods ..	988
Production of tissues in one hour per 1,000 looms	18
Production of tissues during 1,000 hours of work	12

This list shows that in spite of the large increase (19.5 %) in the number of workers, production has fallen and the increase in the number of workers affects side-occupations.

The extent of the drop in production is shown by the fact that in three thread-factories of the Neva in Petrograd (*ibid.* "Economicheskaya Jizn"), 9,418 gross of thread were produced daily in 1916 against 1,910 gross of thread a day in 1918, with an undiminished number of workers.

It is not surprising that the labour in a gross of thread, which in December, 1916, cost 1 rouble 35, costs in 1919 40 roubles 90. That is to say, *production is six times less and the cost thirty times greater than before.*

Still more interesting and striking details are given by the locomotive-building works. Indeed, "The productivity of the locomotive-building works has diminished greatly, nine Russian works turned out in 1918 only 191 locomotives instead of 530 as in 1917. Productivity has dropped, especially in the Putilov works, which in 1918 turned out only 7 locomotives." ("Severnaya Kommuna," No. 259, 25 March.)

In other words, production is three times less than before.

Another number of the "Severnaya Kommuna" (No. 260 of 26 March) explains the reason for this decrease in the factories' productivity.

At the Neva works :

- (1) Before the Revolution the productivity of the worker, expressed in locomotives, was equal to 0.002 (1916). In 1918 it was equal to 0.0004, or in other words, *the workers' productivity is five times less than it was.*
- (2) Expenditure of electric energy for one locomotive in kilowatt-hours: In 1916, 62,000; in 1918, 188,714. *An increase in energy of 300 %.*
- (3) Amount of labour employed for one locomotive: In 1916, 15,600; in 1918, 63,920. *An increase in labour of 400 %.*
- (4) Finally, the price of labour for one locomotive was, in 1916, about 100,000 roubles; in 1918, about 1,400,000 roubles. That is an increase in the price of labour for one locomotive of 1,400%.

Such are the facts; they prove by their evidence that *one of the principal factors in the decrease of production in the works and factories of Soviet Russia is the decrease in the workers' productivity; the first is a corollary of the second.*

To Sokoloff's collection of documents may be added other proofs, such as the "Trud," official organ of the Trade Unions of Petrograd, which says in the issue of 28 August, 1919: "It is of the utmost importance to use to the full our resources, for the productivity of the worker has fallen to nothing."

The fall in productivity is shown also in a Schedule drawn up by the Russian Government and inserted in the paper, "Economicheskaya Jizn," No. 287, of 21 December, 1919, regarding the production in the Torston woollen goods factory in Petrograd.

Production of a worker in the Torston wool-tissue factory in Petrograd, employing 2,800 workers. The

figures show the quantity of arshines of woollen cloth produced by each worker in 100 hours' work.

Months.			1913.	1914.	1915.	1916.	1917.	1918.
January	...	...	20·4	27·7	32·1	36·1	35·4	26·1
February	...	...	38·2	29·4	32·2	45·7	48·1	27·6
March	...	...	32·7	30·4	40·9	46·6	40·0	28·4
April	...	...	34·8	27·9	40·2	41·2	36·1	17·1
May	...	...	28·4	27·6	40·4	41·6	48·0	—
June	...	...	26·0	30·3	36·1	44·8	45·2	—
July	...	...	35·2	25·8	46·0	49·6	39·0	—
August	...	...	34·8	31·2	37·8	44·8	43·3	—
September	...	...	32·5	29·6	36·6	53·3	46·0	—
October	...	...	21·9	31·0	52·2	43·4	45·3	—
November	...	...	18·1	29·3	50·7	42·6	40·9	—
December	...	...	31·8	30·5	41·5	39·7	29·6	—

Here, too, the decrease is striking, especially from December, 1917.

Professor Issaieff, writing in the "Economist" of 3 August, 1919, gives the following further figures:—

"The fall of the productivity of work is shown by the following instances, taken from the report of the Special Commission (January 1919). In the Moscow railway workshops the number of workmen in 1916 was 1,192; in 1917, 1,179; in 1918, 1,772, viz., it has increased by 50 %. The number of workmen's off-days and holidays is ever growing, making in 1916, 6 %; in 1917, 12 %, and in 1918, 39·5 %. To each railway car which had left the workshop there was estimated as having been employed in making it in 1916, 0·44 men; in 1917, 13·2; in 1918, 41·5. The Commission believes the reason for the fall of labour productivity to be in

the difficulties encountered in the food supply, in their curious conception of what freedom meant, in their irresponsibility, careless indulgence, in their leaving work to join various committees, etc.

"The fall of the labour productivity in the collieries is as follows: The normal amount of work of one man per month is 750 poods, in 1916 it was 614 poods, in 1917, 448 poods, and in 1918 it fell to 242 poods. The value of articles manufactured by one workman per day (estimated at an 8-hour day and the prices counted on the standard of 1916) was as follows: In 1916, 100 %; in 1917, 75 %; in 1918, 40 %. Similar events are noted in the textile, cotton, cloth and other branches of industry. As a result, nationalised industry gave after the first half of 1919 a deficit of 5,000 million roubles, *i.e.*, 44.5 per cent., of its budget (11 billions of roubles), and the railways 4 billions deficit out of the 5 billions of its budget."

Indeed, the Bolsheviks themselves admit that the workers are producing less. In the same paper (No. 272 of 4 December, 1919), it is stated that the fishing industry on the Volga and the Caspian Sea, which had been nationalised, is producing 50 % less than in normal years, and this is attributed partly to the decrease in the productivity of labour.

But, according to the Bolshevik leaders, the workers cannot possibly increase production unless they are better fed. As Miliutin says: "Workers' output depends on food and conditions generally; it is a physical and physiological proposition."*

However, they agree that, latterly, production in certain enterprises has materially increased.

Thus, for instance, in chemical produce factories, the output for October 1919 was double that of the

* Extract communicated under date of the number of journal.

month before ("Economicheskaya Jizn," No. 275, of 9 December, 1919); similarly, in the coal-basin of Moscow, output increased by 50 % towards the end of 1919 (same paper, No. 285, 19 December, 1919). This last statement appears, however, to conflict with a schedule published in the same paper (No. 271, 3 December, 1919). The output figures in the Moscow coal-basin are, for August, September and October, 1918, respectively, 1,165,000, 1,389,000 and 2,239,000 poods, and for the same months of 1919, 1,070,000, 1,477,000 and 2,327,000 poods.

In these instances, however, we are not told the reason for the improvement.

But in a number of "Izvestia" for July or August, 1919, we find the following: "If during the period January to April 12,000 workers were at work in the Putilov factory, only about 5,000 are working there now."

The Commission began its labours at the end of the first of these periods and we observe already the following effects of them: In December, 1918, when wages were 1,025 roubles, production reached 35.9 % of the normal; in January to February, with the same wages, production varied between 84.5 % and 72.5 %; in March, with wages of 1,215 roubles, production equalled 81.2 %; in May, with wages at 1,510 roubles, it rose to 100 %, and later, with wages at 1,648 roubles, to 140.7 %.

CHAPTER XIII.

WORKERS' CONTROL.

The first legislative measures of the Soviet Government demonstrate clearly that in the beginning there was no regular plan of nationalisation. The conception which appears to have prevailed at that time was that of a State formed by a voluntary union of local groups which had vested in them the entire control over economic life and industrial conditions. They also possessed the right to confiscate or nationalise factories. The functions of the State were limited to the co-ordination—to a very limited extent—of the actions of the local groups. It is only later that the conception of economic life as a whole gets the upper hand, and that the different enterprises are considered as one inseparable whole whose management is the affair of the State.

The regulations, however, published during 1918 and afterwards—of whose existence we often know indirectly—show a tendency towards a more imperious and exclusive action on the part of the State and towards the idea of considering enterprises as a whole, belonging to the State, which alone has the right to regulate their existence, to group them as it wills, to deprive them of all individual existence and to subordinate them one to the other according to the necessities of its own economic and social policy. As a result of this new conception the workers' control loses more and more of its importance.

The first legislation on workers' control is dated 14 November, 1917 ("Izvestia," No. 227, 16 November, 1917). By this measure workers' control is established over production, sale and storage of products and raw

materials, and over the financial management of enterprises (art. 1). Arts. 6, 7 and 8 of this decree give wide powers to the committees—amongst others to control the entire correspondence of the concern. Their decisions are even binding on the proprietors.

These powers are confirmed as a whole by the "General Instructions on Workers' Control as established by the Decree of 14 November, 1917," adopted by the Council of Workers' Control of All Russia (*vide* "Izvestia," No. 250, 13 December, 1917). Chapter II, arts. 5 and 6, suffice to show that we have here the idea of a powerful workers' control.

Certain limitations are, however, imposed by arts. 7 and 9; the former gives definitely to the proprietor the right to give orders as to the running of the concern and excludes expressly therefrom the participation of the Commission of Workers' Control. Art. 9 forbids categorically the commission "to take possession of the enterprise or to direct it" with the consent of the higher authorities.

When enterprises were nationalised, the workers' control continued to function, but naturally the relations with the directing personnel were changed. It is no longer a question of crushing bourgeois capitalism; the more urgent problem for the State is rather to get factories, mills, etc., into good working order.

In another chapter is described the creation of a new organ—the Economic Administrative Council—in which the workmen are in a minority (one-third of the members or, with the other employees, not more than half).

However, factory committees continue to exist but with functions considerably reduced (Decree on the Management of Nationalised Enterprises, "Journal of the Workers' and Peasants' Government," No. 41, 7 March, art. 10) and subordinate to the above-mentioned Administrative Council. This subordination is more definitely prescribed by the Instructions to Mill

and Factory Committees ("Izvestia," 30 August, 1918), especially in Chapter III, Nos. 1, 2, 3, 4 and 5.

The "Russian Code of Labour Laws" (1919) speaks also of the functions of factory committees; according to art. 126, "The duty of securing that rules of internal management are kept in Soviet, nationalised, public and private enterprises and establishments, is put upon the organs of self-management of wage-earners (factory and similar committees)."

This is practically all the legislation available regarding workers' control.

Practical Application of Workers' Control.

Numerous witnesses testify to the fact that in the beginning the proletariat understood nationalisation to be a direct entry into possession of each factory by its workmen, and that the Soviet of each works had the widest possible powers not only as to the direction but as to the disposal of all the mill and factory property.

Thus Goode, recounting a conversation with the Director of the Textile Enterprises at Serputhoff, says:

"The technical manager was quite frank. According to him the system, in the early days of its action, was disastrous. The workmen, who are peasants drawn from the surrounding villages, and who leave for tilling or harvesting their land when these become necessary, were unable to understand anything except that the Revolution gave them the right to do as they pleased. The output went down to 40%, and chaos in government ensued. But with experience, and by changing the powers of various committees, an improved condition of things had

come about, work went on smoothly, though even yet there were causes of trouble existing, and this year had seen the factory and the system satisfactorily adjusted."

Commissary Schmidt, quoted by Ransome, explains thus: "Of course, control by the workers, as it was first introduced, led speedily to many absurdities and, much to the dissatisfaction of the extremer elements, has been considerably modified. It was realised that the workers in any particular factory might, by considering only their own interests, harm the community as a whole, and so, in the long run, themselves."

A typical example of this state of affairs is a fact quoted by the "Izvestia" of 12 May, 1918, regarding the starch and molasses factory "Jiviloff." The competent authorities nationalised the factory, and sent an administrator, and the Soviet refused to hand over the factory.

The following extract from a speech made by Rykoff at the Congress of National Economy ("Izvestia," 30 May, 1918) is also very instructive:

"During the first months after the October revolution the class struggle was carried into the mills and factories. Nationalisation was often of a purely penal character. The bourgeoisie tried to make us nationalise enterprises which were worth nothing. But also, the financial situation was bringing the enterprises to ruin. This brought on a panic amongst the bourgeoisie who abandoned the enterprises whilst the workmen wished to work them at all costs. During the first months it was chaos and conflicts everywhere between the administration and the workers."

The same conclusion is arrived at by Arsky, a well-known Bolshevik in an article entitled "The Pillage of the Factories" ("Izvestia," 27 March, 1918).

"The mill workers," he says, "carry away with them the machines and machine parts from the factories which are closed, considering these objects to be their own property."

The same Arsky writing in the "Izvestia" of 17 March, 1918, complains that "the working masses are not sufficiently organised and disciplined. Their personal interests often pass before the class interests."

It is probable, however, that in many places the workers did not abuse their victory. An example is furnished by the textile factory of the Ivano-Vosnensk Company, nationalised about the beginning of 1918. The new administration is composed of one workmens' delegate, one employees' delegate, one delegate from the higher technical personnel and one from the professional union. The Regional Economic Committee ratified the election and delegated to the administration two of its representatives.

We know also of several cases where the vote of the Factory Committee was purely passive, and the former directors or proprietors continued for a long time to enjoy all the powers they possessed under the old *régime*.

Another example is narrated in detail in Daniel's pamphlet "Russia in 1918—Bolshevism in Practice"; but all these examples have come to us in an incomplete and fragmentary manner.

On the whole, however, the effects must have been serious because the Government was soon obliged to intervene in order to prevent some of the most crying abuses. In an article by Bogdanovski ("Izvestia," 21 April, 1918) we read that the Supreme Council of Popular Economy revoked a decision of the Committee established for the administration of the mercantile fleet (which had been nationalised by decree of

28 January, 1918), and annulled the resolution by which this Committee assigned to the Professional Union of Volga Transport Workers the sum of 60,000,000 roubles which had been destined for the repair of the fleet. The Council decided at the same time to change the composition of the Committee by limiting the number of workers' delegates to a third of the total number.

In the "Izvestia" of 11 July, 1918, we learn that the Council of Popular Economy, in order to stop the pillage of the mills, thought necessary to publish an ordinance to the effect that the Council alone had the right to nationalise enterprises.

Already in February, 1918 (according to a speech of Andronekof at the Congress of Councils of Popular Economy, the question was raised of changing the system and establishing a type of administration of nationalised works.

A little later (March, 1918) the question is put in definite terms by Larin in a report at the first session of the Supreme Council of Popular Economy: "In the beginning," said Larin, "Workers' control was tried. *This experiment did not succeed; in certain places it led to the entry into possession by the workers of the enterprises where they worked, and in others to a fictitious control which served as a screen to the proprietors of the establishment.* The idea of workers' control had to be abandoned little by little, and groping blindly we pass to the idea of workers' management of the enterprises. But experience obliged us to abandon the idea of management of a factory by its workers and employees, which in practice was equivalent to the substitution for a single proprietor of a group of proprietors whose interests were in contradiction with the interests of the working class as a whole."

And Arski insists, about the same time ("Izvestia," 22 March, 1918) on the necessity of syndicating the

industries in the hands of the State and struggling against the tendency of the workmen to become the proprietors of the works. It is just at this period that the Soviet Government decides on its future plans for industry and accepts the fundamental principle which it was never to abandon.

An evolution appears indeed to be taking place in the form of a limitation of the powers of the organs of workers' control.

The principal causes of the change are clearly exposed in the following article by Goltzman (member of the Central Committee of the Metal Union) in the "Izvestia," of 27 April, 1918 :

"What has workers' control given us up to the present? We must have the courage to admit that its results are not always satisfactory. Often—it may be seen in many enterprises—instead of the former proprietor of the enterprise, after the October revolution another proprietor came who was just as individualist and just as anti-social as the previous one. The name of this new proprietor was 'Control Commission.' In the Donetz basin the metal works and the mines refused to deliver to each other coal and iron respectively on credit, and sold the iron to the peasants without taking into consideration the interests of the State. All this took place under the protection of the workers' control. The Control Commissions in several works asked the State for subsidies for *their* works. At the request of Control Commissions several little enterprises which were not up to date from a technical point of view, were nationalised and became a heavy charge on the budget."

The author demands that workers' control be re-organised. The organs of control must contribute to technical progress. The Control Commissions should

be dependent on the Unions which regulate the tariffs of wages. These commissions should establish the quantities of produce to be furnished by a factory for a given salary, and should control the production of each worker. In practice, they would become sections of the tariff commissions. Being interested in the increase of production they would insist, before the Direction, on technical improvement. They would see that there was no lack of raw material, etc.

Other complaints against the control arise from the governing spheres. Thus at the Regional Economic Congress held at Moscow on 22 May, 1918 ("Izvestia," 26 May), Kuvshinoff, delegate from the government of Vladimir, declares: "The pressing problem is the increase of production. The Control Commissions and the Factory Committee are often incapable of struggling against the lowering of production, for reasons of a general character and also because raw materials often arrive late. The technical machinery is very deficient. Repairs require enormous sums. Sometimes the proprietors and the technical personnel damage the machinery. The proprietors do not allow the control of the financial side of the enterprises. Often the rôle of the Control Commissions is limited to making statistics of raw material and fuel. But in certain cases they *de facto* direct the factories. We met resistance from the Control Commissions on the question of distribution of raw materials. Those who had large stocks of them did not wish to yield them up to others." He then demands the co-ordination of the different organs.

A silent struggle was taking place between the workers' control, representing the egotistical and centrifugal forces, and the workers' Unions, who supported the principle of centralisation of control.

This is clearly indicated in an article by Arsky published in the "Izvestia" of 28 March, 1918. The

struggle finished by the victory of the Unions, which succeeded in obtaining the fusion of the factory committees with the Unions. The former became the organs of the latter.

On the other hand the Professional Union of the Textile Industry decides on the fusion of the organs of workers' control with the analogous organs of the "centro-textile" which, as we know, is a State organ.

A control and technical section was organised at the Centre for the purpose of introducing a rational system of workers' control in the factories and in the factory administrations, unifying and directing the activities of local control commissions, and having other functions of a technical character.

It seems, however, that in this case the workers' control is more or less in a position of subordination to the central administration.

It would appear that after this decision a new organisation of workers' control is introduced by the Professional Union of Textile Workers, by which the workers' factory committee becomes the direct organ of the Union.

The following are some details given by the "Izvestia" of 28 July, 1918:

"The Factory Committee is the local organ of the Union of Industrial Production (proizvodstvenny soyuz). There will only be one Committee in each enterprise. Employees occupying posts in the administration of the factory (directors, foremen, etc. can neither be electors nor elected. The Committee is elected at the general reunion of workmen and employees, for three or six months. *Members of the Union of Industrial Production* may be elected.

"The presidium and the members of the Committee are dispensed with from work in the factories.

They receive from the enterprise a salary calculated according to the average salary of their category. The funds of the Committee (including the Control Commissary) are made up of the workers' subscriptions (2% of the wages).

"The Factory Committee in its quality of organ of the Union applies the decisions of the Conferences of Factory Committees, and of the Direction of the Union, taking into account the decisions of the local federations of the Unions.

"It applies the instructions of the Council of Popular Economy with regard to the regulation of industry and the Orders of the Soviet authority as far as the protection of labour is concerned."

Arsky in the "Izvestia" of 2 August, 1918, judges that the rôle of workers' control is finished. It prepared the way for nationalisation, and when the latter came it became insufficient and the directing rôle passes to the professional unions.

This is also the opinion of Borsky, who, in the "Izvestia" of 25 May, 1918, writes that workers' control was an excellent means of passing without shocks the production into the hands of the proletariat.

This evolution is what Lenin, in his speech at the Eighth Congress of the All-Russian Communist party, calls ("Petrogradskaya Pravda," 8 April, 1919): "passing from workers' control to workers' administration of industry," and Kerensky in an article entitled "La Russie Sovietique" ("Pour la Russie," 3 January, 1920, No. IV) substituting for the formula, "All power to factory committees," the formula: "All power to the factory administrations."

The same evolution takes place in the administration of the railways. The Railwaymen's Union of syndica-

list tendencies, "Vikjel," was dissolved by the Government and substituted by a new trades union organisation "Vikjedoz," which became the instrument of the central administration.

As mentioned before, the result of these innovations in Bolshevik circles when all industries were nationalised, tended to restrict the powers of labour control. The latter is subordinate to the Economic Council (board) in charge of each shop, and labour is in a minority on these boards.

This fact is borne out by Ransome, in his book, p. 113, where he informs us labour control was arranged in such a manner as to leave full authority to the technical experts. On p. 144 he also tells us how this arrangement originated :—

"Of course control by the workers, as it was first introduced, led speedily to many absurdities and, much to the dissatisfaction of the extremer elements, has been considerably modified. It was realised that the workers in any particular factory might by considering only their own interests, harm the community as a whole, and so, in the long run, themselves. The manner of its modification is an interesting example of the way in which, without the influence of tanks, aeroplanes or bayonets, the cruder ideas of communism are being modified by life. It was reasoned that since the factory was the property, not of the particular workmen who work in it, but of the community as a whole, the community as a whole should have a consideration in its management. And the effect of that reasoning has been to ensure that the technical specialist and the expert works manager are no longer at the caprice of a hastily called gathering of the workmen who may, without understanding them, happen to disapprove of some of their dispositions."

Last Stage.

It is clear that at the beginning of 1919 the cause of centralisation was won. But is this the last stage of changes in the administration of nationalised industries?

Kerensky, in an article dated 3 January, 1920, and entitled, "Pour la Russie," basing his opinion on an article published in the "Economicheskaya Jizn" of October 1919, points out there is a powerful movement in favour of complete suppression of control by collective bodies and the introduction of an autocratic system represented by certain leaders. What is there to say about this?

What is there to say also about the assertion in the "Economist" of 7 February, 1920, based on a would-be decree by a Labour Commissar Schliapnikoff, to the effect that Factory Committees had been abolished and that Commissars had been placed in each works with powers of life and death over all workers in the factory? The "Daily Telegraph" in a letter from Milan (23 February, 1920) quotes another decree, drawn up as follows:—

"Works Committees and Workers' Councils, that were set up to maintain order in centres of production have, on the contrary, been the cause of serious disturbances. They have demoralised the workers and completely disorganised industry. For these reasons, the Government feels itself constrained to suppress them everywhere in Russia."

We find no evidence of the existence of this decree in any document perused by us.

We cannot deny or affirm this fact, which is outside our knowledge. But it is clear that a subsequent transformation took place in the direction of closer centralisation.

Let us look into these indications:

First, in the "Economicheskaya Jizn," of 14

December, 1919, Bogdanov mentions the "mobilisation of industry." The idea, in other words, is to submit the whole or part of nationalised industry to military rule. The author argues that this measure is only of a temporary nature and is intended to counteract the present adverse situation.

Secondly, we wish to draw attention to an Order dated 6 October, 1919, No. 899 (see "Economicheskaya Jizn," of 21 December, 1919). The object of this Order was to reorganise the management of the Bogoslovski works in the Ural Mountains, the salt, soda, gold, platinum and magnesium industries, etc.

It seems useless to quote the order in full: but it is undoubtedly meant to do away with local interference in management and to unify the latter under different sections of the Supreme Council of National Economy, which is responsible for local management.

As regards the Bogolovski mines, the Central Coal Committee (Glaougst) sends a Director with full powers to organise production, and to direct operations according to the programme drawn up by the Committee.

Finally, a wireless message, dated 12 February, 1920, states that in the management of railroads, the disciplinary courts made up of railroad workers have been suppressed. All business must henceforth be managed by . . . (The message stops short at this point.)

But I consider that the most conclusive indication is contained in a speech of Lenin's made at the third Congress of Economic Councils. This speech was made known to us by a wireless dated 30 January last. The text is incomplete and full of blanks. But certain salient points in the speech should be noted, as they proclaim a principle that derives its great importance from the fact that it is uttered by Lenin himself.

The following is the part of the speech that deals with the management of nationalised industries :

"After Semashko," Lenin declares ". . . the first point is that of the management of economic organisations and the collective principle. The question has often been raised from the theoretical standpoint, but it is time it should be considered from the practical point of view.

"Experience proves, on all sides, that the more perfect the organisation of a State becomes, the more restricted is the collective principle. Practical work depends upon the responsibility of one person, because this system enables one to discover and utilise the actual efficiency of each worker. Thus, experience in the Army, led from the collective system to the principle of authority vested in one person which is the general tendency. These results are conclusive, because the Army is not an isolated body ; it is part of the whole social fabric of the country. Everywhere we find the same proportion of intelligent workers more or less educated ; and then we have the peasants still imbued with capitalistic prejudices ; but the example of the Army proves the disadvantages of the collective system from the point of view of the waste of energies, the quickness at work, and the . . . It is evident trade unions must take part in economic administration, as this is the foundation of our programme, but it is sufficient for them to put forward candidates. If they are compelled to provide long lists of candidates, the unions will be unable to find amongst the workers a sufficient number of competent managers and commissars ; but we must abandon theories for facts : our aim must be to increase the number of organisers, because, to solve our great problems, to save Russia from want, cold and hunger, we must have ten times more organisers."

Conclusion.

What conclusions should we draw from those words ?
What authority can we ascribe to those indications ?

Are the Factory Committees still in operation ?
What is their present importance ? Is it true that all
authority is in the hands of the management and
technical experts ? Or have the two systems com-
promised into an agreement ?

Is it true that under the cloak of State capitalism,
we have the ancient owner and private capitalism,
as was affirmed lately in a Dutch paper (" Handels-
blad ") ?* Only an enquiry made on the spot can
answer this question.

* " Handelsblad," 25 February, 1920.

CHAPTER XIV.

TECHNICAL STAFF.

It is a recognised fact, and one which has not been called into question, that, at the beginning of the Soviet regime, and at the time of the stormy formation of Works Committees, it was almost impossible for the technical staff to continue its duties. The orders of engineers, managers, etc., were not obeyed by the workers. The pay of these officials was not continued ; constant encounters with the Works' Committees were occurring, as a result of which their very lives were often in danger.

This fact has been vouched for from many sources, and is described with a great deal of moderation, impartiality and with the stamp of truth by Mr. Daniel, who was himself an engineer and manager of a great cotton factory.*

It is of interest to give that part of his work in which he described the first effects of the new regime on the technical staff :

“ Thus we have the establishment of a sort of joint control, which virtually consisted in a reign of terror over the manager or an attempt to terrorise him into complete submission prior to steps being taken to relieve him of his post altogether. The effect produced was mostly successful in so far that the majority of the directors vanished completely, whilst others again more far-seeing, in the opportunity offered, endeavoured frantically to get their places of business closed before things had gone far enough to enable the workpeople to take over the financial control. The office staffs began to show

* “ Bolshevism in Practice,” 1918, p. 10.

open disloyalty, and to endeavour to obtain information about the business that in the past had in no way concerned them, even going to the length of questioning the authority of the owner to dispose of goods, the money received for goods, or even to receive cash payments."

The results are, of course, disastrous for production ; the technical staff, as Mr. Daniel says, vanished and, in most cases, production ceased.

It is clearly to put a stop to this desertion that the first decrees of nationalisation and confiscation sternly command the technical staff to remain at its post, make it responsible for the confiscation of machines and for the inventory in general, and threaten it, in the event of disobedience, with heavy penalties.

These decrees, however, do not regulate the legal status of the staff ; they leave it in an ill-defined position, full of dangers. For the Bolshevists, indeed, the specialist belongs to the middle classes and, as such, he is a member of the enemy camp.

It is only by the general nationalisation decree of 30 June, 1918, that the technical staff emerges from this condition of outcast, and is at last recognised.

By clause 5 of this decree : " All technical staff without exception, the working staff, managers and other responsible heads, are declared to be in the service of the Federated Socialist Soviet Russian Republic, and will receive from the income and revenue of the establishment the emoluments which were paid them before the publication of this decree."

What had happened during this period to produce a remarkable change ? It was this : the Bolshevik Government had had to recognise the absolute necessity of the technical staff.

Thenceforward all its policy is directed towards attaching this precious element to itself.

Thoroughly to appreciate the moves in this policy

it is necessary to give here a page of Lenin's pamphlet "The Soviets at work," published in 1918, and which must have been written immediately after the Peace of Brest-Litvovsk.

This pamphlet has a whole chapter entitled, "The need of specialists." "Now," says Lenin, "that the attack on capital has been successful, we need middle class specialists to till the soil afresh in such a manner that no bourgeoisie can ever again take root.

"It is a special phase of social development.

"Without the help and direction of specialists in the various branches of learning, of technique, and endowed with experience, the change to socialism is impossible, for Socialism requires a conscious mass movement towards a greater output of work in comparison with capitalism, and the lines along which capitalism worked. Socialism must carry out this forward movement *in its own way*, by its own methods, and—to define it more clearly—by *Soviet* methods. But specialists inevitably belong to the middle classes because of all the circumstances of social life which have made specialists of them. If, after having attained power, our proletariat had been able to deal with the problems of accounts, management and organisation on a national scale, an impossibility owing to the war, and to Russia's backwardness, then—having crushed the sabotage of the capitalists—we should have brought about, by means of taking over the accounts and of universal control, the complete submission of the middle class specialists. In view of the extreme backwardness in accounting and in general management, although we have succeeded in defeating sabotage, we have *not yet created* the condition of things which would put the middle class specialist at our disposal. Many saboteurs are about to place themselves at our service, but the best organisers and the greatest specialists may serve the State in the old

middle class way, that is, for a higher salary, or in the new proletariat way, that is, by creating a condition of general accounting and management, which, inevitably and naturally, will attract and win the compliance of the specialists.

“ We have at present been obliged to resort to the middle-class method and promise a very high rate of remuneration in order to obtain the services of the most important middle-class specialists. All those who are acquainted with the facts understand this, but they do not all fully realise the deep significance of such a step on the part of the Proletariat State. It is clear that such a step constitutes a compromise and a precedent, a falling away from the principles of the Paris Commune and from every proletariat rule, which requires wages to be reduced to the normal rate of remuneration of the average worker—principles which exact that the struggle for appointments shall be based on facts rather than on words.

“ Moreover, it is clear that such a step constitutes not only a halt in a certain section and to a certain extent in the offensive against capitalism (for capitalism is not a specified amount of money, but a well-defined social relation of man to man), it constitutes also a step backwards on the part of our Soviet State which, from the beginning, proclaimed and brought about a system of reducing high salaries to the level of the wages of average workers.”

“ Yes,” continues Lenin, “ you Menchevists and you revolutionary Socialists, you laugh at what we admit is a backward step. But it is better to explain openly to the people that, in winning over the middle-class specialists by big salaries, we are betraying the principles of the Commune, it is better to discuss the thing publicly, and thus educate the people to overcome these weak points, than to conceal it.

“Even supposing that we are obliged to pay large salaries—25,000 roubles each—for highly specialised skilled workers, and to pay, too, big premiums for work carried out in a particularly successful manner; supposing that, for some hundreds of these specialists, we have to spend 50 or 100 million roubles a year, should such a sum be considered excessive or beyond Russia’s resources? Certainly not. It is true that high salaries involve great danger; they exercise a corrupt influence. But every reasonable man must agree that we cannot free ourselves of the evils of capitalism at one stroke; only organisation and discipline will ensure our success.”

Lenin finishes by emphasising the necessity of the workers learning how to run the undertakings.

This page of Lenin contains a whole programme which, it must be admitted, the Bolshevik Government has followed faithfully up to now.

Since the decree of June 1918, the position of the technical staff has continued to improve, in as far as both its powers and its emoluments are concerned.

The technical chiefs, by virtue of clause 1 of the decree relating to the management of nationalised undertakings, are henceforth solely responsible to the Central Directorate. By clause 2 of the same decree, the technical chief appoints the technical employees and gives all orders concerning the technical management of the undertaking. By clause 3, the Economic Administrative Councils are composed two-thirds of representatives of the clerks and engineers of the establishment and only one-third of workers. Finally, the latter have no longer any voice in purely technical matters. Lenin even (according to a radio of 12 March—see “Daily Post” of 13 March) has recognised the necessity of placing industry entirely in the hands of technical experts.

At the same time, salaries are raised and correspond to the work performed. Goode states this clearly in the following passage : *

“ In cases where specialists are required and men are invited to fill the posts, whose services are worth to the State more than 3,000 roubles a month, they are paid more, if approved by a special committee of the People's Commissaries, who have to consider the cases fully and decide on the advantage of paying the higher sum. This, again, appears to me to be one of those numerous cases in which the system during its early stages had been cut and carved to meet difficult circumstances. Concessions are made at present in order to ensure the future success of the socialistic principle.”

The results of this policy were not long in coming : Ransome says with regard to this, †

“ The engineering staff, which mostly struck work at the beginning of the revolution, had almost without exception returned, the younger engineers in particular realising the new possibilities opening before the industry, the continual need of new improvements, and the immediate welcome given to originality of any kind.”

Certainly, specialists are not always workmen. They belong to the intermediate class between the proletariat and the middle classes. The newspaper, “ Finance and Public Economy ” (7 November, 1918), states this expressly, adding, “ They are more or less tinged with capitalist ideas.”

This consideration compels the Government to set up a temporary body, that of Political Commissaries

* P. 58.

† P. 98.

in undertakings, whose work is to supervise technical specialists and to mould in them, so to speak, a proletariat soul.

This also compelled them to formulate special penalties for any violation of the labour laws on their part.*

But no document furnishes us with definite particulars as to their position in regard to wages, as to the control exercised on industry and as to the relations between the workers and the Government. Even the passage quoted here from Lincoln Eyre's correspondence in the "Daily News" of 6 March, 1920, is hazy in this respect. Another undefined phase of the National Economy problem is the insufficient number of technical and executive experts available for the industrial machine. Most of those capable of directing the great industries of the country are opposed to the Bolsheviks who, naturally, mistrust them. Even those enjoying the confidence of the Bolsheviks are tied down by the supervision of innumerable Councils of Commissaries and "Collegiums."

* Art. 14, Decree on the Disciplinary Tribunals of Work.

CHAPTER XV.

POSITION OF NON-NATIONALISED INDUSTRIES.

Legislation.

The non-nationalised enterprises are :

- (1) All companies except limited companies and companies "en commandite."
- (2) Non-nationalised limited companies.
- (3) Private concerns belonging to individuals.
- (4) Consumption co-operatives.

All these enterprises are subject, by a decree of August 1918, to the control of the Peoples' Commissariat of Commerce and Industry.

The principal obligation of the non-nationalised enterprises is to be registered with the above-named Commissariat or one of its local organs.

The registration takes place by presenting certificates of ownership, or if it is a company, partnership contracts, procurations, balance-sheets, inventories, etc.

All transactions regarding the sale or letting of establishments or the resiliation of such must also be registered.

State establishments, small concerns who have not more than one salaried employee or worker, beside the proprietor or an adult member of his family replacing him, and industrial and trade establishments, the number of whose workers doing manual labour is not more than four, are not obliged to register. According to clause 8 of the Russian Code of Labour Laws, conditions of work, wages, etc., are regulated by the

same laws which apply to nationalised concerns. Wages are fixed by the Trade Unions in agreement with the owners, subject to sanction of the Commissary for Labour. When Unions and owners do not agree, the proposed scales are sent direct to the Commissary for sanction.

Position of non-nationalised Commerce and Industry.

Entirely occupied by the fate of nationalised industries, writers on Russian subjects, observers who have travelled in Russia, accusers and defenders of the Bolshevik system, all have neglected to give us any information as to the conditions in which non-nationalised commerce and industry exist. Even Goode has avowed his ignorance on the subject.

All that we know is that non-nationalised industries exist, but they are in any case only small industries.

It may be added that the existence of these industries is not viewed sympathetically by the Bolsheviks. "They must be pitilessly annihilated," said Rykoff in his report to the Congress of Economic Councils in December 1919.

Have these industries adapted themselves to the Bolshevik regime? Are the workers and employees better treated than those in nationalised concerns? Are they content with their lot? Do they desire nationalisation? We cannot answer these questions.

Shops.

According to Sokoloff * all shops were nationalised during the summer of 1919.

On the other hand, according to the pamphlet "L'œuvre économique de la République des Soviets," † which, according to Mr. Renault, the author of the

* *Op. cit.*, p. 50.

† Pp. 18-19.

preface, was dictated after original documents by a Bolshevik, "The Soviets, while nationalising any branch of industry, nationalised at the same time all shops, offices and commercial installations belonging to it."

Malone * in his book gives us the following indication :

"The general atmosphere of the town, from the 'bourgeois' point of view, was undoubtedly a little depressing. The Nevsky Prospect flashed no aristocratic scintillations, the shops were for the most part bare. Essential commodities are controlled by the State, and one sees such signs as 'seventeenth boot store,' 'ninth barber's shop,' 'fourteenth clothing store,' 'nineteenth food store,' and so on ; but shops such as art shops and curiosity shops were open. I was told that a good deal of speculation goes on amongst the adherents of the old regime, and that they even make large sums by gambling with houses which have been actually appropriated by the Soviet Government in anticipation of its collapse."

It is also evident that shops which sell articles monopolised by the State, such as fish, salt, sugar, tea and bread, belong to the State.

This is about all we know on the subject.

* P. 23.

CHAPTER XVI.

THE RUSSIAN CO-OPERATIVES.

The Socialists in every country attach considerable importance to co-operation. They consider that it has value, not only as a means of "putting an end to individualism," or as a weapon of attack against the growing cost of living, but they see in it, in the present state of society, the germ of an institution essential to a socialistic system.

Co-operation was extensively developed in Russia before the arrival of the Bolsheviks to power. What were they going to make of it? What have they made of it?

About 1914, three main types of co-operatives existed in Russia; co-operation of supply, co-operation of credit, and co-operation of purchase and sale of the producers' goods. Of these three, co-operation of supply was the best organised. It was concentrated into a single whole by the Central Union of the Supply co-operatives in Russia, the Centrosoyus, called at that time the Moscow Union of the Co-operative Societies of Supply. As regards the co-operation of credit, it was controlled by the Moscow People's Bank, which served at the same time as a financial centre for the general co-operatives.

The Co-operative Societies of Supply which, in 1905, totalled rather more than 1,000, and were for the greater part small village societies, had in 1914, or in less than ten years, exceeded the figure of 10,000. As for the

Centrosoyus, it had seen its total of transactions increased in the following proportions :—

Year.	Roubles.			Total of Transactions in Roubles.
1899	800	...	...	31,340
1909	47,822	...	...	1,278,511
1913	225,413	...	...	7,985,234

In 1913, there were in Russia 29,461 Co-operative Societies of all kinds, as shown in the following table :—

Societies of town supply	2,434
Societies of country supply	5,066
Societies of production	600
Societies of credit	3,500
Agricultural societies	4,900
Milk producing	461
Butter producing (particularly in Siberia) ...	2,500
Miscellaneous	961

“ The War,” says Mme. Lenskaja, in her Report on Russian Co-operation to the co-operative Congress at Geneva in April, 1920, “ surprised co-operation in Russia at a moment of intense development, and of extensive dissemination of the idea of co-operation among the rural population. Private capitalistic enterprises were in Russia very primitive in form and very little developed, particularly in the sphere of commerce ; not only had co-operation no difficulty in ousting the enterprises which were already established, but very often it was the pioneer whose task was to supply the ceaselessly increasing necessities of village life.”

The War increased the development of the co-operative societies. The constant increase in the cost of living induced a large number of people to come and inscribe themselves as members of the co-operatives in order that they might avail themselves of the advantages thus offered them. On the other hand, the Imperial Government, in spite of its mistrust of these

Societies, tolerated them because they supplied the Army with agricultural produce.

"On the 1st January, 1918," writes Marcel Mauss, in the *Revue de Paris* of the 14th March, 1920, "the societies grouped in the Central Union included twenty societies, each with more than 10,000 members, 307 (district) unions of societies comprising more than 30,000 societies; that is to say, a grand total of 10,241,047."

Nothing can show better than the following table the development which the War brought to the supply co-operatives :—

Capital in Roubles.				Total of Transactions.	
1913	...	225,413	...	7,985,234	} Centrosoyus
1917	...	10,269,757	...	212,000,000	
au moins					
1913	...	1,000,000			} People's Bank
		500,000	paid up.	6,006,168	
1917	...	100,000,000	...	5,823,578,394	
		50,000,000	paid in 1919.		

"The Revolution of February, 1917, freed the co-operative movement from all the bonds which were hampering its development. The Provisional Government published a special Law favourable to the co-operatives, and depended almost exclusively on these organisations to solve the problems of supply. But the Revolution had the effect of enlightening the ranks of the leaders of the co-operative movement, for many of the old co-operators, as well as a large number of their societies, were driven on by the force of events, and often, even against their will, to carry out over the whole extent of Russian territory important duties in various central or local administrations in the municipalities and democratised Zemstvos, and in the Socialist groups."

Under the Government of Lvoff and Kerensky,

more than 15 co-operators filled ministerial posts and under-secretaryships of State (Lenskaja Report).

The number of members of the co-operative Societies amounted at this time to 10,000,000, and the total of their transactions amounted yearly to 15,000,000 roubles.

"The predominant part which co-operation played in the organisation of economic life in the first days of the February Revolution, a part which brought it into the very forefront of political life, induced certain co-operators to exaggerate its rôle as a political factor. They thought that the mass of people brought together by co-operation would save these organisations, not only in the sphere of economic needs, but also in political life. They hoped that the co-operative organisations, by coming into action as political and social organisations, would act as ramparts for democracy against the demagogues of the extreme Left. Relying on this consideration, the Council of co-operative Congresses (the central representation of all forms of co-operation) hastily combining the representatives of the co-operative unions, decided to take part in a democratic Conference in August, 1918, where it made common cause with the Socialist parties. The Communist party did not take part in this Conference" (Lenskaja Report).

From the time of the Revolution of October, 1917, and the coming into power of the Bolsheviks, co-operation forthwith protested vigorously against the overthrow of the Kerensky Government. The Council of National Co-operative Congresses of Russia addressed to the co-operators and to the people a manifesto in which it denounced the Bolsheviks' *coup d'état* as "a usurpation of power by adventurers and criminals who were enemies of the people and of the Revolution, and summoned all the co-operators to fight them without quarter or truce."

Co-operation protested also against the Brest-Litovsk Treaty, and "advocated refusal of a separate peace, inciting instead to active resistance against the enemy." When the Germans, after the breaking off of the discussion, had resumed their march on Petrograd, it finally summoned the Bolshevik Government to abdicate, and at once to convene a Constituent Assembly.

During the early days of the Bolshevik domination, there was no change in the situation of co-operation, which continued its work of economic organisation. Indeed, its development was actually stimulated by an influx to it of capital and new members. The efforts of the Bolsheviks were directed principally against the State institutions, and they did not seem to attach importance to co-operation.

In February, 1918, the co-operators learnt that the Commissariat of Supply was preparing a Bill on the supply communes.

"This Bill gave to the supply communes the exclusive right to deal with all questions of the distribution of merchandise, as well as the collection and sale of the produce of agriculture and retail industries. All the inhabitants of a locality were, by this Bill, obliged to be members of the commune, and they could provide themselves with supplies and sell their agricultural produce only through the agency of this organisation. The population of each town was to form a distinct commune, and the Soviet authorities, who were concerned with questions of supply, fixed the boundaries of the local communes.

"The communes were self-governing, but the exchange of goods between them had to take place according to the plans and with the consent of the supply commissariats of the Soviet organisations. The supply

co-operatives were to stop working and to hand over their materials to the communes " (Lenskaja Report).

This meant the suppression, pure and simple, of the supply co-operatives. A delegation of the co-operative organisations went to Moscow, and succeeded in averting the application of the Order.

However, from this moment the Soviet authorities, who were pursuing their schemes of nationalisation, did not cease to restrict the freedom of the co-operatives.

"Co-operation," says Mme. Lenskaja, "was completely deprived of independence in its purchasing, provisioning and distributing operations. Before undertaking any action, it had first to obtain numerous authorisations from the central and local organisations of the Councils of National Economy, as well as from those of the Supply Commissariat. Understanding their powerlessness to achieve their ends by their own means, the central institutions were quite willing to hand over to co-operation the responsibility for the supply and distribution of food. All the orders on nationalisation exempted from their application the workshops, works and factories belonging to the co-operatives."

But the co-operatives, in order to carry out the tasks assigned to them, found themselves faced by considerable difficulties, since, for each stage of a combined operation, the Soviet authorities obliged them to obtain special Orders from the central institutions corresponding to the local organisations.

Thus, in order to transport fish which came from Astrakan, the Centrosoyus would have to apply for the indispensable permits successively to the local Astrakan Section of the Supply Commissariat, the river administration of the Volga, the local forest organisations of Astrakan (staves and hoops of wood), to the Trade Union of Astrakan Coopers, and to the central

salt administration; then, still for the question of salt, to the local Soviet Baskountchak, and finally to the Supply Committees of the Governments where the unions of the co-operatives would have to distribute the fish.

And the Soviet central authority had always the right to reject the demand and to take upon itself control of the operation.

In April, 1918, a new Draft Order on co-operation, worked out by the Supreme Economic Council of the Soviet Government, was submitted to the consideration of the co-operative representatives, who pronounced it unacceptable and rejected it. The Order was none the less issued.

"The first clause of this Order instructed every consumer to become a member of a supply co-operative. To this end, it declared that every member of such a co-operative would receive in return for the purchases made the tax of 5 per cent. imposed by the Bolsheviki on all commercial institutions, on the total of all the sales made by them." This measure was naturally of a kind to induce everyone to become a member of a supply co-operative, but the Order of the 12th April did not stop there. Clause VIII stipulates that "the co-operative societies which succeed in incorporating the whole population of their localities shall benefit by special facilities and advantages as regards the position of taxes to an extent to be subsequently settled." Clause VI lays down "that the representatives of the co-operative societies and of their unions will share in the work of the official central and local supply organisations, which will be responsible for controlling private commercial enterprises and have the right to requisition them for the benefit of the State." Clause VII declares that "the owners and directors of private enterprises may not be members of the directorate of supply co-operatives." Clause X stipulates: "In

proportion as the supply of produce to the co-operatives is secured, steps must be taken to ensure that payment of wages to the working classes may be carried out by means of certificates giving them the right to receive from the co-operative shops certain specified goods."

Finally, the better to co-ordinate and centralise the co-operative work of each locality, Clause IV lays down that "two co-operative societies at the most may exist within the borders of each district or locality ; one for all classes of the population, and the other for the working classes " (M. Bekker, " Le Bolchévisme et les Co-opératives," Bibliothèque universelle et Revue Suisse, January, 1920).

A circular which appeared in the *Izvestia* (No. 122, 16th June, 1918), publishes a series of instructions to the local Councils of Public Economy concerning the control and inspection of the co-operatives after the April Order. In this circular, M. Rykof, President of the Administrative Council of the Supreme Council of Public Economy, and M. Miliutin, member of the Administrative Council, and M. Mejon, insist particularly on the strict control which the local Councils of Public Economy must exercise over the working of the district unions and the branch co-operatives.

Thus it seems that the Bolshevik Government, first of all, disdained co-operation, to which it accorded very slight socialistic value ; but when the co-operatives succeeded in organising the supply of the country at a time when we may well ask whether the official organisations (Supply Communes) had proved equal to the task, the Soviet authorities began to consider more seriously the question of making use of them. The Congress of Economic Soviets in August, 1918, accentuated the Bolshevik pressure on co-operation. In para. 1 of the resolution passed in this connexion, the Congress declared : " The activity of the co-operative societies, as well as that of other

public economic organisations embracing the masses of workers, must be co-ordinated and brought into close contact with that of the Soviet organisations regulating the economic life of the country, and especially with that of the Economic Councils. This activity must be subordinated to the realisation of Socialist measures." Further on (para. 2) the Congress declares "that the Order of the 12th April, 1918, concerning the co-operative supply societies, must be only the first step in the path of the reconstruction of co-operation, and of its transformation into a movement embracing the whole of the Russian people."

In December, 1918, Lenin spoke thus on the same subject: "The Soviet Government," he said, "without abandoning its principle of struggle to the death against imperialism and capitalism, sees itself none the less forced to recognise the immediate importance of an agreement with the co-operative movement. The Soviet Government have reached a stage of reconstruction where the efforts of all classes of workers must be brought into action. The experience and capacity of the co-operative organisations can be particularly helpful in the realisation of its end. . . .

"Recently, friction arose between the Governments and the co-operators, for the latter were for a long time hostile to the former; but this friction will gradually die down when the fusion of the economic organisations of the State with the co-operative societies has been achieved."* This speech shows clearly the new phase of the relations between the co-operatives and the Bolshevik Government. This policy of seizure upon the co-operatives could be carried out in two ways: some people demanded the nationalisation, pure and simple, of the Centrosoyus and of

* Quoted by Bekker (Extract from the *Russian Co-operator*.)

the other co-operative unions ; others desired a compromise ; they insisted on the compulsory presence of communists on the Managing Committee of the *Co-Operative Unions*. Naturally, the co-operators offered equal opposition to both these tendencies. The second tendency, indeed, soon became paramount in Soviet circles. Thus, the co-operatives, and in particular, the Centrosoyus, received the proposal to admit into their Committee of Control the representatives of the Unions of National Economy and of the Supply Commissariat, these representatives being given the right to veto. The meeting of the Delegates of the Centrosoyus on the 28th September, 1918, offered the most uncompromising opposition to the possibility of seeing the democratic principle voluntarily modified in co-operative transactions. The People's Co-operative Bank had escaped the general nationalisation of the banks. The Bolshevik Government offered it the opportunity of freely amalgamating with the State Bank. The co-operative organisations rejected these offers as before. Finally, after several discussions, the People's Bank was nationalised and transformed into a co-operative section of the State Bank.

Meanwhile, as the Soviet authorities were still carrying on the same policy, they made use of the Soviet Orders on the fusion of the district co-operative societies into one single society.

They began by bringing the Workers' Co-operatives under their own control, reserving to themselves the power to give them later a predominant part in the Centrosoyus.

The Workers' Co-operation as an autonomous and independent organisation came into being after the Revolution of 1905. In 1917 there were in Moscow and Petrograd district unions of workers' co-operatives and even in the industrial districts several other

unions composed to a large extent of workers' co-operators.

In August, 1917, a first congress of the workers' co-operation was held and the complete agreement of the Council of the workers' co-operation and of the Centrosoyus was formally declared there. The second Congress in April, 1918, while it expressed the desire to have special representation in the organisations of the Centrosoyus had definitely repudiated the draft Order of the Soviets as regards the Co-operatives. In 1918 the Workers' Co-operation amounted to one-tenth of the members of the supply co-operatives and its aggregate of transactions represented 12 per cent. of the grand total. Up to 1918 no co-operative society had a bolshevist majority in a central workers' co-operative in Moscow. In Moscow at the end of the Summer of 1918, the Communists obtained a small majority at the election of the Members of the Council. Having obtained this majority, the Communists decided that, by virtue of the Order which prescribed the amalgamation of the co-operatives of any one district into a single society, all the workers' co-operatives in Moscow should be absorbed into their one union.

"All the co-operative sections in Petrograd," says Madame Lenskaja, "amounting to more than seventy societies had to close down, and in their place a new Central Workers' Co-operative Society was established in Petrograd." On the 6th December, 1918, a third extraordinary Congress of the workers' co-operation was convened, and at it the elections of the Members of the Council were to take place. "In view of the Congress," says Madame Lenskaja, "workers' co-operatives in several districts replaced the old ones which had had to close down. . . . in spite of all these measures, the communists had not yet an absolute majority by the date when the Congress was to open. The opening of the Congress was therefore

postponed for two days and a joint commission was set up to scrutinise the votes by which means the communists obtained a very small majority. In order to achieve this result the joint commission recognised as valid all the votes of the central workers co-operatives at that time in formation, even all those which had not yet any board of control, and it annulled the votes of all those co-operatives which were still in existence, but which were destined to be amalgamated with other societies ; amongst others, ten votes of the district union of Petrograd were annulled, as well as those of a whole series of other workers' co-operative societies. On the other hand, ten votes were conceded to the Organisation Commission of the future Central Co-operative of the Workers of Petrograd.

The problem of the relations between the Workers' Co-operation and the Centrosoyus was solved in the following way. The Workers' Co-operation was to present to the Centrosoyus an ultimatum in which it was to ask that two-thirds of the seats on the board of control of the Centrosoyus should be reserved for workers' representatives of Soviet convictions. Should this request be refused every workers' co-operative was to break with the Centrosoyus and form a special economic centre. Immediately after this Conference, steps were taken to organise the Pan-Russian Union of the Workers' Co-operation, which accepted the principles of the Soviet Government and the Council of the Workers' Co-operation addressed to the workers' co-operatives an invitation to leave the Centrosoyus and to combine against it in Centrosections. "But," says Madame Lenskaja, "in spite of the threats of the Soviet authorities who declare that the Centrosoyus would be deprived of orders, few co-operative societies abandoned it, and as a matter of fact, no change was made." Suddenly on the 20th March, 1919, quite unexpectedly for the Centrosoyus, appeared the Order

of the Supply Committees, which entrusted all the transactions for the distribution of goods to fresh organisations. The following are the essential clauses of this Order :—

“ In order that the country may be saved from famine, the difficulties of supply demand extraordinary measures as well as strict economy in the use of our resources and the means at our disposal.

“ As regards the distribution of food, the creation of a single distributing organisation becomes a necessity all the more essential and urgent in that all the organisations of distribution (classified mainly into three groups, organisations of supply, workers’ co-operatives and general co-operatives) receive their produce from a single source, and that the difficulties which arise between these groups cause intolerable harm and embarrassment to the smooth progress of work.

The unification of the existing organisations of distribution must be carried out in such a way that the principal organisation of regular distribution on a vast wholesale scale, that is to say, co-operation—the the only organisation established under the capitalist system and tested by long experience—far from being destroyed or set aside, may be preserved and used as a basis of the new organisation when this is developed and perfected. In order to put the work of distribution in accordance with these principles into the hands of the working population itself, and at the same time to suppress the inequalities in distribution which the existing co-operatives occasion by giving preference to their own members, the Council of the Peoples’ Commissaries decides as follows :—

“ 1. In all towns and villages supply co-operatives will amalgamate to form a single organisation of distribution, that is, the commission of supply.

" 2. Once this Commune is established the following will be taken as units: In the towns and industrial centres the workers' co-operative, or, failing that, the general co-operative; in the villages the co-operative of rural supply.

" 4. The commission of supply will include the whole population of the place. It is the duty of every citizen to become a member of the Commission, and to inscribe himself at one of the distributing centres.

" 7. The right to elect and to be elected a member of all the organisations of administration and control belongs to every citizen who has the right to vote in the Soviet elections in accordance with the Socialist tion of merchandise, as well as the collection and sale Federal Russian Republic of Soviets. . . .

" 11. The local organisations of supply yield to the supply communes thus organised the task of distributing produce and goods of prime necessity. All the co-operative shops of the Soviets, all the dépôts and centres of distribution whatever, without exception, as well as the enterprise of production belonging to the co-operatives, are thus combined under the control of the communes of supply. The whole capital of the co-operatives passes to these communes. The value of the shares taken is reimbursed by the communes to the members of the old co-operatives in strict conformity with the latters' statutes.

" 14. The local supply organisations are responsible for seeing that the supply communes and their unions obey the orders, measures and general principles of policy followed by the State in questions of supply (class rations, taxes, etc.). The local organisations of supply may to this end send their representatives, to the number of six, for each organisation, to join the administratives of the supply communes, the choice of these representatives being ratified by the Department Supply Committee. These representatives have

the right to suspend the carrying out of the administrations' decisions, or to appeal to the organisations of the Supply Committee. The same right to bring its representative into the departmental union belongs to the Departmental Supply Committee, with the power of ratification by the National Committee of Supply.

" 16. The local supply organisations introduce in the provisional administrations of the supply commissions and of their unions, delegates to the number of one for each organisation on the conditions and with the rights explained in Clause 14 of the present Order.

" The Council of the Peoples' Commissaries may make up the staff of the Administration of the Central Union by sending representatives to it up to the required number.

" 20. The right possessed by the supply co-operative to have its representatives on the official central and district economic organisations (the councils of national economy, the sections of these councils, etc.) passes to the Administrations of the supply communes and of their unions, and, with temporary authority, to their provisional administrations.

" 22. The periods for the new elections to the administrations of the production communes are fixed by the Committee of Supply in agreement with the local Soviets.

The President of the Council of Peoples' Commissaries : *V. Oulianov (Lenin)*.

" The Business Controller of Peoples' Commissaries" *V. Bontch-Brouevitch*.

" The Secretary of the Council of Peoples' Commissaries : *V. Fotneva*.

“THE KREMLIN, MOSCOW,
20th March, 1919.”

From this moment it was a case of complete seizure of co-operation by the Soviet Authorities. With the members appointed by the Government, they had a majority in the Committee of Management in the Centrosoyus. As regards the commercial activity of the Centrosoyus, it underwent no great transformation. The co-operators and the officials of the co-operation remained at their posts particularly as a strict sense of duty urged them to do so.

On the 16th January, 1920, the Supreme Council of the *Entente* decided through the agency of the Russian Co-operatives to resume economic relations with Russia.

The Allied Government hoped in this way to avoid all official relations with the Soviet authorities. This the latter understood, and they contented themselves with carrying on the policy which we have already described. On the 27th January an Order was issued of which we shall speak later. It brought the co-operatives still more closely under the control of the Government, and, as a co-operative delegation, had to be sent abroad to treat with the allies, the Soviet authorities selected as the delegates of the co-operatives the People's commissaries, Krassine and Litvinoff.

Both in Russia and out of it the co-operators found themselves in a difficult situation. Their choice lay between remaining at their co-operative posts in contact with the members who had been appointed, and trying to save the co-operatives, in spite of being obliged as it were to serve a *régime* to which they were hostile, and abandoning the co-operatives in Russia and keeping them up abroad, and by that very action slowing down and stopping the provisioning of Russia which the *Entente's* decision was about to set going,

and, by their refusal to remain at their work, prolonging a murderous blockade. They remained at their posts. The Secretariat of the Centrosoyus, while keeping to the principles of the last Order, used every effort to interpret it and apply it in such a way that the greatest possible independence and freedom was left to its organisations. We do not possess all the other documents and all the orders issued by the Soviet authorities. However, two of the delegates of the co-operatives who have returned from Russia addressed the following telegram to the Executive Committee of the International Co-operative Alliance assembled at Geneva :—

“ We send you the following communications on the conditions of the co-operatives of supply. The effects of the unification of the authorities are as follows :—

“ 1. The Centrosoyus and the Centrosections are already partially amalgamated. This amalgamation is being carried out gradually for the centres as well as for the districts.

“ 2. The provisional directorate for the Centrosoyus has been established and ten persons appointed by the Government have been added to the old members.

3. “ At present elections take place in accordance with the new laws in all the local and district organisations of the Centrosoyus. Few alterations are made because almost everywhere in the towns as in the villages, the old members are being re-elected. After the Government Unions have been established, the election of the new directorate of the Centrosoyus will take place.

“ 4. On the 27th January, 1920, an Order was published concerning the unification of all the forms of co-operatives into one single organisation. One cannot yet see what form this organisation will take and what its duties will be. It will take a long time for this order to be effectively carried out.

"5. The Government organs of distribution are suppressed and the whole distribution of rationed products, as well as the preparations of non-rationed products, are in the hands of the Centrosoyus. Since the members of the Committee appointed by the Government are in the majority, the position of our friends (the old members) is very difficult, especially on questions of principle on which everything is decided by the votes of the appointed members. The question of the exchange of goods has not been decided or discussed in the directorate of the Centrosoyus. Our friends of the Centrosoyus, as well as the other co-operatives of supply, approve our action which is aiming at the raising of the blockade and the resumption of commercial relations. They consider this to be a vital question for the whole population of Russia. At the same time, they lay stress on the absolute necessity of keeping in our own hands all the organisations of the Centrosoyus abroad, as well as of the financial resources. They confirm once more our right to act as representatives of the Russian co-operatives, they lay on us the obligation to defend everywhere the independence and autonomy of Russian co-operation. The delegation sent abroad is a commercial delegation of the Government. In no sense is it a co-operative delegation.

The Secretariat (propaganda section) has suffered a good deal. Everything is now in the hands of the members of the appointed directorate. The editing staff has been entirely changed. M. Meschtcheyakoff has been appointed chief editor. All our friends send you their greetings. They wish you the strength required for your work."

The meeting at Geneva passed the following motion on the proposal of the Russian Delegates present, Madame Lenskaja and M. Sellheim :—

“ The Central Committee approves the coming raising of the blockade of Russia, which is necessary in the interest of the population of Russia and of all other countries.

“ The Central Committee considers it necessary that the co-operative organisations should take a part in the resumption of commercial exchanges with Russia.

“ The Central Committee protests against the loss of independence and full autonomy of the co-operative organisations in Russia and against the intervention of the Government in the freedom of the co-operative organisations.

“ The Central Committee considers as representatives of co-operation only those persons who have received their mandates from the free and democratic co-operatives.”

The *Times* published on the 23rd April the report of the two co-operator delegates to whom we have alluded, Mr. Schemeley and Mr. Makeyerv, who have stayed in Russia from the 18th February to the 28th March, 1920. The following is the summary of the part of this report which concerns the co-operatives. After quoting the Orders of which we have spoken, the delegates go on thus :—

“ On the 27th January, 1920, a new Order suppressed all the other branches of the co-operative organisations such as the Society of Credits, Agricultural Society, ‘ Artels ’ of production, etc. . . . and obliged them to amalgamate with the supply co-operatives while their central organisations were forced to join the Centrosoyus under the form of special sections of these latter organisations. With a view to avoiding troubles, the application of this Order must be gradual.

“ The Co-operative organisations show a considerable increase in numbers, but their quality has fallen greatly. The communist party has obliged its members to take part in co-operative societies and in their work. The elections of the councils of co-operative organisations which took place in 1919-1920 were carried out under the pressure of the local Soviet to ensure the predominance of the communist element. However, this attempt was not a complete success. In a general way the true co-operators recognised the necessity of carrying on their work in spite of the changes of form introduced into the co-operative organisations, and they still continued to enjoy considerable personal influence. In accordance with the existing legislation, the work of the co-operative organisations consists especially in distributing goods according to the rationing system of the provincial communes of supply. A special clause makes cereals, butter and several other products compulsory articles of exchange. It is also proposed to accept, in exchange for the products distributed, articles manufactured by village craftsmen.

“ At the same time, the co-operative organisations by an agreement made with the different Soviet institutions, are given an important task in the production and centralisation of goods. To this end, they wield complete authority over hundreds of industrial enterprises whose working they control. All the products must be distributed according to the rationing system of the Commissariat of supply and of the provincial Commissariats.

“ The total floating capital of the Centrosoyus alone amounts annually to milliards of roubles. The finances of the co-operative organisations are derived principally from advances agreed to by State institutions ; their private capital, although considerable,

plays about a secondary part in the floating aggregate of their funds.

For the technical organisation of their work the co-operative organisations have succeeded in maintaining complete independence. Finally, on the 11th April, 1920, a radio telegram from Moscow reached us, of which the following are the essential passages, which seem, indeed, to indicate that the co-operatives are still resisting the Soviet authorities as best they can :—

“ Basing its decision on the principles laid down in the party programme accepted by the Eighth Congress, which, in the part dealing with agriculture and distribution (considered correct by the Ninth Congress) outlines the transition from the old Bourgeois Co-operatives into Co-operatives directed by proletarians, the Ninth Congress proposes to the Central Committee that in its work it should be guided by the following instructions :—

“ The following measures must be taken with regard to Consumers' Co-operatives :—

“ (1) To complete the work begun by the decree of the 20th March, 1919, *i.e.*, to confirm the predominant influence of our party in all consumers' co-operative organisations from the bottom to the top.

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“ (3) Co-operatives must be made to supply the population with commodities on the basis of the policy of the Food Supply Commissariat. The most correct mutual relations which can exist under the present conditions between consumers' co-operatives and State organisations are such that consumers' co-operatives both in the provinces and centre are under the management of the People's Food Supply Commissariat, and

execute technical economic operations under its guidance and control. This can be attained best of all in the work of organising distribution. The carrying out of this policy will be based on the decree of the 20th March, 1919. The work of preparing supplies which reflects the principles of the State economic policy, which is based on the principles of State compulsion, and which is being adopted on a wider scale, must be exclusively within the scope of activities of State food supply organisations, which will utilise the co-operatives as a subordinate technical apparatus in preparing supplies both of monopolised and other food stuffs. The co-operatives must first of all take on themselves the preparation of these food stuffs and articles of primary necessity, which are not included in compulsory contribution to the State. The scheme of State organisations in regard to the preparation of ...(message jammed)...only on this condition the co-operative machinery can be utilised in preparing food stuffs and articles of primary necessity and in the distribution of supplies.

“ With regard to trade and agricultural co-operatives, the Congress approves the decree of the 27th January, 1920, as the first measure taken by the Soviet Government to subordinate and organise (?) independent groups of the more well-to-do peasants united by their various branches of agriculture or peasant industry to consumers' co-operative organisations, as the consumers' co-operatives unite the whole of the working class and peasant population...(Message jammed.)...All-Russian centres, agricultural centres of industrial co-operation, cease to exist as independent units, and must be incorporated in the Central Union as its sections. At the same time the Congress authorises the Central Committee to agitate for the re-organisation of the minor agricultural and trade co-operative unions.

The Congress recommends that the following instructions be adhered to during the re-organisation :—

“ (2)

The consistent carrying out of the principles on which the decrees of the 20th March, 1919, and the 27th January, 1920, are based, in compliance with the directions outlined by this resolution, will bring about the transition of co-operative from their present narrow forms, which are expressed in the unions of separate privileged groups of the population, possible only under the bourgeois *régime*, to new forms which will suit the economic and political conditions created by the dictatorship of the proletariat, and which in the future will form the basis for the organisation of supply on communist principles.”

In their hostility to the Soviet authorities, the co-operators, after their fruitless attempt at resistance to the Bolshevik Government, confined themselves to their purely economic duty. From documents which we possess it would appear that for the early period the Bolsheviks while attacking co-operation without, in their disdain for it, mutilating it too seriously tried to ensure the provisioning of Russia by their own means. They do not seem to have succeeded in this, whilst the co-operatives continued to live and to afford the means of living to others. The Bolsheviks would then have turned to the co-operatives, first of all by dilution, then by a series of measures with legal force; not without protest from the co-operative leaders, they effectively took the nominal control of the co-operative movement. The co-operative leaders, however, remained at their posts. By a strange paradox the co-operatives are thus at one and the same time all powerful and in subjection. It is they alone who ensure the provisioning of Russia, but they are no

longer masters of their own destiny. This position cannot fail to provoke several series of questions :—

What is at present the degree of independence possessed by the co-operatives ?

What is the value of their autonomy ?

Are they no more than an institution of the Soviet State ?

Have the co-operator leaders agreed to remain at their duties only in order to prevent the breaking up, parcelling out and ruin of the organisation, and to continue to feed and provision the country ; and, if so, what is the real value of the co-operative organisation, and will it be able to ensure for itself an independent existence ?

APPENDIX I.

CRITICAL REVIEW OF THE DOCUMENTS ON WHICH THE REPORT IS BASED.

The Report had two principal objects in view :

- (1) To describe the Soviet Laws concerning the different items in the Questionnaire ;
- (2) To specify the effects of this legislation and describe the real state of Russia as regards these items.

To attain these ends one should have : (1) Collected complete bibliographical notes ; (2) Examined all documents communicated and made a full critical summary of them. But as time was very short, and the documents were numerous and scattered in London, Paris and other places, only a preliminary selection was made so as to eliminate less important things and to examine only reliable and first-hand matter.

We have classified the documents in a certain manner and instructed our collaborators to examine the matter at hand accordingly.

We began with Bolshevik laws, so as to fulfil the first object of the report.

The only data available on this point are to be found in two publications :

1. P. Labry—" Une Législation Communiste," Paris, 1920.

2. " Russian Code of Labour Laws," London, 1920.

The first book is a fairly complete collection of Russian laws translated into French by M. Labry, who left Russia in 1918. The translation was made from texts of laws published in official or semi-official newspapers that the author managed to take away when he left that country or which he obtained in France. The book although not based on official Russian texts is, however, of fundamental importance for our report.

Unfortunately, the collection has two great faults : (1) The legislation therein contained extends only to the end of the year 1918 ; (2) it only gives the principal laws issued by the Central authority. All the regulations and measures adopted by the local authorities to adapt the General Law to conditions peculiar to each locality are not mentioned.

These omissions are very serious : (a) because we know that the legislation of 1919 has considerably modified that of the preceding year ; (b) because we know that the local Bolshevik authorities have always enjoyed great latitude in the application of the laws promulgated by the Central Authorities ; these local regulations would have thrown great light on the real conditions of the country.

In spite of these defects we made great use of Labry's book. As it only contains texts of laws, we are certain that it is a true and impartial account. " The Russian Code of Labour Laws," on the other hand, has been published by a Russian Bolshevik Propaganda Bureau, for that reason it has not the same claims to impartiality as Labry's book. I will add this, that when I applied at the above Bureau, the original Russian text was not available, and I could obtain no information concerning same. Even the date of the publication of the Labour Code is uncertain, and it is not given in the translation. However, I thought I would

make use of it to the same degree as Labry's book, and this for the following reasons :

The provisions of this Code are along the lines of Bolshevik legislation, and they are confirmed by other sources. Labry himself in the preface to his book (p. 17) mentioned that the Russian Government intended to publish this collection of Labour Laws ; and Goode (p. 94) explains that the book was worked out by the Trade Unions, and discussed by the Commissariat of Justice and the Soviets before adoption. Moreover, the existence of a Russian original with the same title and subject matter is confirmed through other sources ; this work is in Paris (Russian War Library). We have also a copy printed in Petrograd, in 1919, in English, with a title in English and in Russian. We did not have the necessary time for comparing the English and the Russian texts, neither could we make sure of the authenticity of the text. The date of publication of the Russian text can be placed for several reasons about the middle of 1919.

These two publications—the Labry collection and the Russian Labour Code—must be looked upon as the only two sources of information available on Bolshevik Labour legislation.

Unfortunately, as aforesaid, they only cover the year 1918, and part of the year 1919, and that very imperfectly. Besides, they give no information concerning the application of those laws and the results thereof.

Next we must mention as a second source of information, official newspapers such as "Izvestia," from Moscow and Petrograd, "Economicheskaya Jizn," "Pravda," "Dielo Naroda," "Trud," etc. They supply first-hand evidence which can be accepted as such, the more so as they contain arguments against the Soviet Régime. Here also, it is to be regretted, there are great omissions. The collection of newspapers

for 1918 is about complete. But in spite of the inquiries made in Paris, London, Germany, Sweden, Switzerland and Italy, we have only been able to obtain a few copies for the year 1919, particularly for the months of January, February and March, and October, November and December. The collection for these months is far from being complete. We have only a few isolated copies, in which we can gather interesting information, from time to time.

We have nothing concerning life in the Provinces, and censorship prevents free and thorough criticism. The results of the examination of books and documents have been on the whole disappointing. Nevertheless, those newspapers are undoubtedly very important, because they come from reliable and authentic sources.

Beginning from the end of December we have been able to obtain an almost complete collection of Russian wireless messages sent out by the Moscow wireless station and intercepted in France, Germany and England.

We have two texts: the French and English (and this only starting from the beginning of March). Generally, the French text is more complete than the other one.

Unfortunately, both texts are very much mutilated owing to the difficulties of transmission of messages by wireless, and therefore their usefulness is much impaired.

These wireless messages are all important, as they represent opinion in official Russian Government circles. We can place them in the same category as official texts of laws and Russian newspapers.

The three series of documents above mentioned constitute our direct sources of information.

Then we have the indirect sources: that is, the publications of persons who have visited Bolshevik Russia; propaganda pamphlets published by the

Russian Government, books compiled from official Bolshevik sources, and lastly, all other publications.

Because our time was so short, we have limited ourselves to a few publications, choosing those of more recent date. We were anxious to examine, before all others, the books by Ransome, Goode and Malone, because they provide the most recent information concerning Russia, and they have been written by people who have been in that country. Ransome was in Russia in February and March, 1919, Goode in September and Malone in October of the same year. We have also considered Lansbury's, Copping's and Lincoln Eyre's letters to the "Daily Herald," the "Daily Chronicle," and the "Daily News," respectively. Naturally, the evidence of these gentlemen can only be accepted with certain reservations; their imperfect knowledge of the language, the shortness of their stay, the methods they employed to obtain information, and in certain cases, their evident partiality, all these are sufficient reasons for caution on our part. But their observations can help to supplement the lack of facts derived from other sources concerning this question.

We also had a certain number of books examined, written by various other writers, such as Keeling, Spargo, Poole, Beatty, Bryand, Rosett, Buisson, Antonelli, etc. In general, the results obtained were rather poor, because, in most cases they are books propounding a theory of works of propaganda, or they describe conditions outside the province of this inquiry, or they are based on second-hand information.

A special place must be assigned to Sokoloff's books and to the memorandum published by the Government of the United States which are exclusively based on extracts from official Russian newspapers. It is to be regretted that the subjects most interesting to us are

not discussed at length, and that in neither case they are treated from the objective point of view.

Most of these publications have been examined in Paris and in London. We have received only bibliographical notes from Berlin, Stockholm and Lausanne. We have only utilised the material received up till 15 March: what was received subsequent to that date, was classified separately, to be used at a later date.

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II. ARTICLES, 1917-1919.

The following list contains titles of newspaper articles on Bolshevism, from the labour standpoint.

This list is far from being complete, but it contains the most important articles on the subject.

La liste suivante contient les titres d'articles de journaux ou revues qui ont traité la question du bolchévisme au point de vue du travail.

La liste est loin d'être complète, mais elle indique les articles les plus importants sur ce sujet.

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III.—PERIODICALS.

The following list contains the names of periodical publications which have dealt with Bolshevism from the labour standpoint ; either from a general point of view or in special articles that appeared from time to time.

The numbers given for the Russian journals and periodicals indicate only those which we have been able to obtain and verify.

PERIODIQUES.

La liste suivante donne les noms des périodiques qui se sont occupés du bolchévisme au point de vue des questions de travail, soit d'une façon générale, soit en des articles spéciaux qui ont paru de temps à autre dans différents numéros.

Le lecteur trouvera mentionné pour les journaux et périodiques russes les numéros de ceux dont nous avons pu constater l'existence.

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- (La Fontaine de la Russie Blanche.** Journal consacré aux questions économiques en Russie Blanche. Pétrograd, 1918.)
- Бюллетень (Biulleten)** Всероссійскаго бюро военныхъ Коммиссаровъ. Москва, окт., 1918.
- (Le bulletin** du Bureau russe des Commissaires de la guerre. Moscou, Oct., 1918.)
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- Бюллетень (Biulleten)** Центротекстиля (Центрального Комитета по текстильной промышленности). 134 (31.12.18) № 1 (135) 3.1.9., № 5 (139) 14.1.19, № 59—6.9.18.
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(Le Bulletin du Conseil supérieur de l'économie nationale. Nos. 1, 2, 3, 7, 9.)

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(L'appel des ouvriers cosaques. Organe de la section cosaque du conseil V.U.I.K. Nos. 42, 43, 45. Moscou, 1918.)

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(L'Armée rouge. Journal militaire quotidien. Publication de la section militaire des publications du comité exécutif central des soviets russes. 108-113. Moscou, 1918.)

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(Les forêts de la république. Gazette des lois forestières. Nos. 1-11, avril-1 sept., 1918. Moscou, 1918.)

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Mir y Troud (Paix et Travail. Berlin. Janvier, 1920.)

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(Le Coopérateur de Moscou. Organe de l'association des consommateurs „Coopération.“ Troisième année. 21 oct. 1918. Moscou.)

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(L'Economie nationale. Organe du Conseil supérieur de l'économie nationale. Première année, 1ère édition, Mars 1918. Nos. 8-9, sept. 1918. Nos. 10-11. 1918.)

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IV. ARTICLES DE JOURNAUX ANGLAIS, FRANÇAIS, ALLEMANDS, &c.

Nous faisons suivre la liste ci-dessus par une série d'articles insérés dans des journaux anglais, français, allemands, &c., dont nous possédons les coupures.

La liste commence à partir du 1^{er} janvier, 1920, jusqu'au moment de la publication de ce livre. Ici aussi il s'agit exclusivement d'articles traitant du bolschévisme au point de vue des questions ouvrières.

La liste est très incomplète surtout en ce qui concerne les journaux autres qu'anglais.

ARTICLES IN ENGLISH, FRENCH, GERMAN NEWSPAPERS, &c.

We insert after the above list a series of articles which have appeared in English, French, German newspapers, &c., of which we have cuttings.

This list starts from 1st January, 1920, until time of publication of this book. The question treated is also that of Bolshevism from the labour point of view.

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ADDENDUM A LA 3^{eme} PARTIE DE LA
BIBLIOGRAPHIE.

ADDENDUM TO PART III OF BIBLIOGRAPHY.

1. „Жизнь“ (Life). Berlin.
2. “La Republique russe.” Paris.
3. “New Russia.” London.
4. „Новая Русская Жизнь“ (New Russian Life). Helsingfors.
5. “Pour la Russie.” Paris.
6. „Последнія новости“ (Latest News). Paris.
7. „Русское Дѣло“ (Russian Affairs). Prague.
8. „Русь“ (Russia). Berlin.
9. „Свобода Россіи“ (The Freedom of Russia). Reval.
10. „Славянская Заря“ (The Slavonic Dawn). Prague.
11. „Воля“ (Liberty). Riga.

V. CRITICAL NOTES ON VARIOUS PUBLICATIONS.

We add the following critical notes to complete those already given above. They cover books and pamphlets that have been reviewed for us in different cities in Europe. We naturally cannot guarantee the trustworthiness of the opinions therein contained. This review is not by any means complete, as it has been impossible to obtain all that has been published on the subject of Bolshevism; it is only meant as a guide to those interested in Bolshevik literature. We have, as a rule, left out all publications not connected with Labour and Social questions.

The Birth of the Russian Democracy. By A. J. SACK, Director of the Russian Information Bureau of the U.S.A. Book published in 1918 by Russian Information Bureau. 530 pages.

The first 500 pages of this work trace minutely the growth of Democracy and its struggles up to the Bolshevik *coup d'état* of November, 1917, the last 30 pages only dealing with Russia under Bolshevism.

The internal policy of the Bolsheviks resulted in the utmost disorganisation of the country's industries, transportation and finance. The terrorising of the working class, and the "working men's control" established in the factories destroyed even the best established industrial enterprises. The output of raw materials and fuel steadily decreased, and this, together with the utmost disorganisation of transport, has stopped the work of even those industrial enterprises where the working men were anxious to continue working. According to L. E. Browne's cable from Petrograd on 4 April, 1918, to the New York "Globe," the decrease of efficiency in the Russian railroads has been especially striking since October, 1917. In that month it dropped

34% ; in November, 45% ; in December, 70% ; in January, 80%.

Mr. Browne mentions that he quotes the official Russian statistics (Questionnaire VIII. Résultats matériels du Régime bolchéviste).

The author is emphatic in his statements that the vast majority of the people were against the Bolsheviks in November, 1917, and are still. The peasantry, which represents 85% of Russia's entire population, repudiated them in November, 1917, repudiated them later through the Constituent Assembly and continues to repudiate them. All the 30 pages of the book dedicated to the Bolshevik period are used to show that the Bolsheviks are a small minority, represent a small minority of the people, keep in power by force, and are intolerant of any opposition. There are no statistics except those already quoted.

The Rise of a New Russian Autocracy. By JOSHUA ROSETT. Booklet published 1919, by the I.L.P. 32 pages.

The author strongly condemns the Kolchak régime in Siberia.

Programma Rossiiskoi Kommunisticheskoi Partiï 1919, etc. ("The Programme of the Russian Communist Party, adopted on the 8th Congress of the Party on 18-23 March, 1919.)

Gives a full exposition of the Communist policy in all spheres of economic and political life.

The New Russia. By PAUL BIRUKOFF (Foreword by Mrs. Philip Snowden). Booklet published by the I.L.P. (Undated).

This book deals with most questions in Russia, and attempts to show how Russia has benefited by

Bolshevism, but is full of general statements, and no decrees or official orders are quoted in it.

Emphasis is laid on the attempts at educational improvements. The chief theme of the book, however, is the Tolstoian movement.

Zdravookhranenie Sovetskoi Rossii, etc. 1919.
 ("Protection of Health in Soviet Russia." Being a collection of articles written for the Congress of the Soviets. With a foreword by the Commissary of Public Health, N. Semashko.)

A pamphlet, containing very few details as to the administration and practical management of the Commissariat of Public Health, but abounding in generalities.

Russia's Ruin. By E. H. WILCOX. London: Chapman & Hall, Ltd. 305 pages. 1919.

This book is a general account of the History of the Russian Revolution, its causes under the old régime, and how it took place in March, 1917, until the Bolsheviks seized power. There is nothing in this book concerning the matters mentioned in the Questionnaire.

Rech'i i Besedi, M. Kalinina, etc. Speeches and Conversations by M. KALININ, President of the Central Executive Committee. 1919.

A pamphlet of propaganda; the speeches have been delivered on different occasions, and are mostly devoted to the civil war. Very interesting are the conversations with peasants, fully reported; the opinions of the peasants, included more or less fully into the reports, throw a side-light on the relations between the Soviet Government and the peasants (see vol. 2.)

Sotsialnoe Obezpechenie v Sovetskoi Rossii, 1919, etc.
(Social welfare in Soviet Russia, with Introduction
by A. Vinokuroff, the People's Commissary of
Social Welfare. 1919.)

Gives some details on the organisation of protection of motherhood, childhood, and State assistance to the war invalids. The protection and insurance of Labour are not included in this booklet.

Bolshevism as It Is: The Story of an Eye-Witness.
8-page pamphlet reprinted from the "Westminster Gazette," published by the Westminster Gazette, Ltd.

Speaks chiefly of the rationing system, which is severely criticised. The general tendency of the pamphlet is anti-bolshevik.

The eye-witness is Mr. H. V. Keeling.

Mr. Keeling concludes that the leaders are powerless to better things. They have created a monster and are helpless in its hands as everyone else. They dare not weaken or slacken. The author concludes by warning the British working people against confusing Socialism with Bolshevism. The British working people would not stand Bolshevism for a day, and they ought to be careful lest they help to force it on the Russian people.

Bolshevism and its Results. By VICTOR GLOOR. Atar, Genève, 1919. 8 pages.

A few pages against Bolshevism written by a Swiss who has lived in Russia. Mr. Gloor confirms all that has been said and written on Bolshevik horrors. He describes it as a most tyrannical régime, where the factories are ransacked, employers massacred, buildings destroyed, where civic institutions are abolished and all

liberties, including that of the Press, suppressed, where rape is a common occurrence, etc. He further states that the schools have been transformed into gambling dens and houses of ill-fame . . .

Rech Tov. Lenina, 18 *Noiabria*, 1919, etc. (A Speech by Lenin at the All-Russian Conference dealing with work on the land, 18 November, 1919.)

This pamphlet gives a very clear idea of the general principles by which the party workers must be guided in their work in the villages. Relations between working class and the peasantry are given special attention. No figures and no statistics are given.

Das bolschewistische Regime in Russland. (The Bolshevik Régime in Russia). By VLADIMIR Kossowsky. With preface by H. Greulich. Olten n. Trösch. 1918.

Kossowsky is a member of the Central Committee of the "Bund," the Jewish Social Democratic Party of Russia. He is altogether opposed to Bolshevism. Hermann Greulich, a well-known Swiss Socialist, wrote a short preface to it where the Dictatorship of the Proletariat is condemned; the preface ends with these words:—

"Socialism cannot be imposed by violence. Socialism must be organised and worked out."

Kossowsky's publication is the most standard work on the subject in German Switzerland. It contains 67 pages, where all the principal points of the Bolshevik question are concisely surveyed, with Russian texts quoted in proof.

Kossowsky wrote from the Socialist standpoint, and it is as a Socialist that he condemns Lenin and Trotzky.

The Social and Political Work of the Socialist Government of Russia. Pamphlet No. 1. Fundamental Decrees. Trade Unions Printing Press, 23 rue des Bains, Genève.

This publication contains the following decrees on :—

The Constitution of the Workmen's and Peasants' Government.

The abolition of the rights of the large land-owners to possess landed property.

Labour control.

The eight-hour working day, how the hours of work are allotted, and how long they last.

The nationalisation of banks.

The suspension of payment of coupons and dividends.

Declaration of the Rights of the different nationalities in Russia.

The separation of the Church and State, and of the Church and school.

The suppression of titles and orders.

The right of recall of Delegates.

The salaries of Civil servants.

The management of apartments.

The book contains 32 pages. Therefore, most of these decrees merely enunciate an idea, a principle without specifying how these are to be applied.

These decrees date from the two first months of the Bolshevik era (November and December, 1917).

This pamphlet was suppressed in Switzerland.

The Fight and Victory of the Bolsheviks. By E. ARNOLD. Zürich. The Association of the Social-Democratic Youth of Switzerland, 1918. Socialist Youth's Library.

Essay on the evolution of the Social Revolution in Russia.

Bolshevism Self-Revealed. Prepared by WILLIAM ENGLISH WALLING for the League for National Unity, 1, Madison Avenue, New York. Leaflet.

Anti-Bolshevik propaganda. No information concerning the Questionnaire in it.

The Dark People : Russia's Crisis. By ERNEST POOLE. MacMillan & Co., Ltd., London, 1919.

General account of the Russian Revolution and the last efforts of Revolutionary Russia against Germany before Peace was concluded and after. The author gives no statistics and no definite facts, but only impressions and statements about the Russians irrespective of political *régime*.

Zemledelie v Sovetskoi Rossii, 1919, etc. ("Agriculture in Soviet Russia, being a collection of articles written for the Congress of Soviets.")

A very valuable booklet giving in a concise form all the particulars relating to the organisation and general principles of the Communist Land Reform.

The Facts about the Bolsheviks. Compiled from the Accounts of Trustworthy Eye-witnesses and the Russian Press. By C. E. B., 1919. Pamphlet in English.

A general Account of Bolshevism, also its aspects from the Economical, Agricultural and Industrial points of view.

After describing how the Bolsheviks seized power, the author, on p. 6, states what the aims of the Bolsheviks are: Through the dictatorship of the town and country-proletariat to suppress the bourgeoisie

and to establish socialism where no class differences and state power will exist.

The author maintains that in spite of a strict censorship there are numerous complaints as to the inefficiency and imperiousness of the Commissaries of the People. As an example of this, on p. 8, he quotes the "Pravda" of 11 February, 1919, a Bolshevik paper, in which a Bolshevik functionary is accused of stealing stores from the Soviet warehouses. (See Questionnaire, Chapter IX, on discontent with Bolshevik rule).

The author also claims that the Bolsheviks do not represent the majority of the Russian Nation, but that they maintain themselves in power by violence only.

The author describes in detail the working of the rationing system.

In connection with the question of free provisioning (Questionnaire VI, para. (a)), the author says that the latter system seems to be carried on in secret; also, for a certain time, townspeople were allowed to go out in the country to buy from the peasants, but this was forbidden after a time.

Trade Unions.—From what the author says and reports, the majority of the workers in the Trade Unions are opposed to the Bolsheviks, the latter suppress meetings and other activities directed against their rule, and do not allow Trade Unions and Federations to exist independently of the Soviet. The leaders of any hostile organisations are arrested and sometimes shot. Members of such Trade Unions are also deprived of their food cards and privileges. (Questionnaire, IV, F, Liberté d'Association, Sanctions, and Questionnaire, IX, Résultats Moraux, sentiments des masses ouvrières par rapport au régime bolchéviste, etc.). The newspaper "New Life," in its number of 26 May, 1918, reports that the printers of that very Bolshevik

paper, 'The Red Gazette,' issued a manifesto as far back as May, 1918, against the Bolsheviks' suppression of freedom of elections, speech meetings, and the Press, and they declared themselves in favour of the Constituent Assembly, p. 28 of this book.

The author deals also with the question of education and co-operation, but gives very little information about actual legislation and facts. The general tendency of this book is anti-Bolshevik.

Education.—The author has this to say about education in Soviet Russia (Questionnaire VI, E. Enseignement):—

"The Bolsheviks have issued numerous decrees and appropriated vast sums of paper money for the furthering of popular education, but, unfortunately, owing to the general conditions of life in the Bolshevik Provinces, the lack of personal security, food, fuel, pencils, paper, and other necessary materials, and the persecution and consequent absence of teachers, they have not succeeded in replacing the old educational system which they destroyed," p. 29.

Co-operation.—According to the author, the Bolsheviks have, after a long struggle, captured the Co-operative movement in Russia, p. 30.

The Truth about the Intervention of the Allies in Russia. How the Rulers of England are Strangling the Russian Revolution. By M. PH. PRICE. Promachos Verlag. Belp. Berne. 1918.

Mr. Price, correspondent of the "Manchester Guardian," is a passionate advocate of Bolshevism.

According to the author the Allies' programme is the following :—Upset the Soviets so as to recover the money lent to Tsarism.

Mr. Price says : “ Hitherto, every attempt at a counter-revolution directed against the Soviet Government had been crushed, thus proving that the Soviet Government disposed of sufficient authority and support among the masses to enable it to be supreme.”

The Village : Russian Impressions. By ERNEST POOLE.
Book published October, 1918.

This book deals with life in Russian villages and impressions received there. The period described is pre-Bolshevik and has no official interest whatsoever.

Zinoviev, G. Bespartiinii ili Kommunist, etc. (Non-party man, or a Communist?) Speech at the theatre of Retchkin, in Petrograd, 1919.

A propaganda pamphlet.

Sovietskaia Iustizia—Sbornik Statiei—Kurckova. Legal institutions in Soviet Russia. A collection of articles written for the Congress of Soviets, with a foreword by D. T. Kursky, Commissary of Justice.

A general survey of juridical institutions (chiefly Courts of Justice) in the Soviet Russia. Gives a concise and sufficiently clear picture of the juridical institutions.

The Red Heart of Russia. By BESSIE BEATTY. New York, The Century Co. 480 pages. 1918.

General account of the Revolution and the beginning of Bolshevism.

On p. 279, she quotes the land decree passed by the second All-Russian Soviet, in November 1917: the rights of the landlords to their movable and immovable property were abolished, but the peasants and Cossacks were allowed to keep their small holdings.

The land was to be administered by district land Soviets, and any crimes committed against the property of the people would be punished by the revolutionary courts. (Questionnaire VII-A-Réformes Agraires.)

"The quantity of land to be distributed to the labourer was determined by the needs and conditions of the community. Such land could not be alienated, leased or mortgaged. It was public for the benefit of those working on it. The right to use land was granted to all citizens (without regard to sex) capable of cultivating it by personal or family labour. Hired labour was not allowed. In case of incapacity due to accident to a member of a rural community, the community must cultivate his land for two years. Farmers who, due to old age or inability, lose forever the possibility of cultivating the land personally, lose the right of property, and, instead, receive pensional help from the State. The decree provided relief for those who suffered distress due to the confiscation of land. (Questionnaire II and VII and Appendix—Difference between Law and Practice.)

"Such relief was difficult to give because of the poverty-stricken condition of the country, and to the owners from whom the land was taken any relief short of actual payment for the land (which the peasants would not even consider) seemed inadequate" (p. 281).

The author mentions a decree by the Soviet Government concerning labour control (Questionnaire V-D & E, Actual, Juridical and Economical Situation of the Workers and Employers) :—

“ It applied to all industries employing labour, and provided for control by committees, representing labourers and employers, called organs of labour control. The control was not confined to a regulation of hours and wages, but extended to all branches of the industry, including the financial phase ” (p. 282).

Commercial secret was abolished and the proprietors obliged to show to the organs of labour control all books and accounts and business correspondence. There lies an appeal from the organs of labour control to a higher organ of labour made up of technical experts in Petrograd. This right of appeal is granted to both employers and employees.

“ The workers in Government-owned industries, such as posts, telegraphs and railroads, were given the same right of control as the workers in privately-owned industries (p. 286).” (Questionnaire V-D, Situation Juridique, Économique et de fait des Travailleurs dans les Industries Nationalisées.)

“ The Soviet Government has established compulsory and gratuitous education, managed by independent local institutions under the guidance of a Central Government Commission.” (Questionnaire VI-E, Enseignement.)

“ The child Labour decree prohibited the employment of children under 14 years-of age, and while it was under discussion the Commissary of Labour proposed that the year following, the age-limit be raised to 15 and eventually to 20. This suggestion was not adopted, but it fitted in with the general

plan of education which aimed at keeping all the children of Russia in school until they had been given the opportunities that only a few of the aristocrats in the past had enjoyed (p. 290)." Questionnaire I-D, Travail des Femmes et des Enfants.) "Women and children under 16 were not allowed to do night work, and there was an 8-hour day for workers (Questionnaire I, B, Heures de travail) and a decree limiting the number of hours of employment a week to 48."

"Among the social measures was Decree 34, which transferred the control of private hospitals to the Government and obliged each industry to provide one hospital bed for each 100 workmen, and one maternity bed for each 200 workers" (p. 291). (Questionnaire VI-D Hygiene.)

"Social insurance against injuries, sickness, and non-employment was also provided in an elaborately-worked-out decree" (p. 291). (Questionnaire II, Prévoyance Sociale.)

"One of the early measures was a national grant of power to municipalities to commandeer all empty premises suitable for lodgings, and to billet in uncrowded apartments the residents of overcrowded dwellings" (p. 291). (Questionnaire VI-c Habitations.)

Die Probleme des Bolschewismus. By DR. MINNA CHRISTINGER-TOBLER. Zürich, E. Steiner, 1919. Sozialistische Bibliothek Heft. (The Problems of Bolshevism.)

Pamphlet favourable to the Bolsheviks, based on documents, some of which are interesting. Treatise on Bolshevik theory. With regard to economic organisation we are told :—

The Councils of Popular Economy form a regular hierarchy. There are Councils of this kind in every locality, in every region, and an All-Russian Supreme Council.

The directions and principles for the organisation of the economic life of the entire country are fixed by the All-Russian Congress of Popular Economy. Their practical application is the affair of the Supreme Council of Popular Economy.

The Congress is composed as follows :—

- 1 Representative of the Supreme Council.
- 2 Representatives of each Regional Council.
- 1 Representative of each Local Council.
- 2 Representatives of the All-Russian Federation of Trades Unions.
- 5 Representatives of the All-Russian Federation of Co-operatives.

The Supreme Council of Popular Economy is composed as follows :—

- 10 Members of the Central Executive Committee.
- 30 Members of the All-Russian Federation of Trades Unions.
- 20 Members of the Regional Councils of Popular Economy.
- 2 Members of the Federation of Co-operatives.
- 1 Member of the Commissariat of Food Supply.
- 1 Member of the Commissariat of Transport.
- 1 Member of the Commissariat of Labour.
- 1 Member of the Commissariat of Agriculture.
- 1 Member of the Commissariat of Finance.
- 1 Member of the Commissariat of Industry and Commerce.

In all, 68 members elected for six months.

"This economic organisation," says the author, "according to the plans of the Bolsheviks, should become the real basis of the new society. Lenin writes on this subject : 'The further the conquests of the October revolution go afield, the deeper will be the transformation, the stronger and more solid will be Socialist order and the greater the part played by the Councils of Popular Economy, which in future will alone survive among the State organs, and the less necessary will become a purely administrative organism, which is really of use to a Government only. This administrative organism is bound to disappear and will disappear as soon as the resistance of the exploiters is broken, and as soon as the workers have learned to organise production socialistically. An organisation in the spirit of the Supreme Council of Popular Economy is destined to grow, to develop, to become stronger and to fulfil more and more the most important duties of Socialist society.'"

The author quotes the following from Lenin : "We must work energetically to reduce the powers and the functions of factory committees and give the direction to certain chiefs, who will naturally be Bolsheviks."

Why this decision ? "Because the *collective* direction of industries by all sorts of Councils does not give the rapid work which is now necessary."

Six Red Months in Russia. By LOUISE BRYANT.
London, William Heinemann. 1919.

This book gives a general account of the impressions of an American woman journalist of events and people

connected with the Russian Revolution and the Bolshevik régime. The author says "nice" things about everybody, whatever party they belong to. There are no facts worth recording as useful to us in this investigation, except perhaps the following (p. 133) :

It is stated that " the Bolshevik Government passed a measure providing free care for 16 weeks for women before, during and after confinement. When they leave the home they can go back if they are not well, and they are required to work only four hours a day in the factories for the first month after returning. This applies to all women, whether married or single." (Questionnaire I, Contrôle de l'Etat pour la protection des travailleurs ; D, Travail des femmes.)

In connection with the Questionnaire VI, E, Enseignement, the author says that every child in Russia now attends public school, p. 133.

Bolshevism : The Enemy of Political and Industrial Democracy. By JOHN SPARGO. Book published, March, 1919, in the U.S.A.

This book opens with a general account of socialistic movements in Russia up to the outbreak of the Great War, and then traces the various revolutions previous to the war, going lengthily into the attitudes and aims of the various political parties. Thence it proceeds to show the spirit with which the Russian people on the whole welcomed the declaration of war, and to give a description of events leading up to the fall of Czarism. Great emphasis is laid on the obstructive and destructive tactics of the Bolsheviks against the Government succeeding Czarism, and

Bolshevism is held to be more destructive than constructive. The whole policy of the Bolsheviks when out of office was to establish a dictatorship of the proletariat (a dictatorship of 200,000 over 180,000,000) and as soon as they came into office to maintain themselves there by rigid and ruthless suppression of all opposing parties or bodies. Very few details on economic questions are given, but the author states that Russia, which was in a very bad state at the time of the Bolshevik's *coup d'état*, was not improved thereby, but that things went from bad to worse.

The Bolsheviks were full of great ideas, but these rarely went beyond theory. Not only could they not carry out their utopian ideas, but they were forced to admit certain ideas which they had denounced earlier as being capitalistic or counter revolutionary. Such was their acceptance of the Co-operatives with which they had to compromise in order to get their assistance, and they even had to admit the right of the co-operatives to determine their own conditions of membership. (Questionnaire, Chapter VI. Situation matérielle de la classe ouvrière.—Coopératives.)

For the purpose of increasing the productivity of Russian labour which had fallen to a very low ebb, the Bolsheviks introduced piece-work, and the Taylor System of Scientific Management which is the enforcing of labour by an individual dictator whose word is final and absolute and to disobey whom is treason, which, the workers were warned in a speech by Lenin, would be met by swift and merciless suppression. The land policy adopted by the Bolsheviks was the one framed by the Ministers of the All-Russian Peasants' Congress of 5 May, 1917. The original law provided for the abolition of private property in land, and placed all land in the hands, and under the direction of the peasant communes. This was the Social-Revolutionary

idea. The realisation of the law, however, by the Bolsheviks, took quite another form. The Social-Democratic plan was adopted—namely the nationalisation of the land, and taking of it over by the Government. It was then run by Government officials, and the peasant was paid by the Government. Yet the original law, of which the Bolshevik decree was practically a facsimile, provided for the division of land among the peasant communes, to be tilled by the peasants on a co-operative system. This is given as an example where a Bolshevik decree is not a description of a reality. All private property in land disappeared under this act. (Questionnaire VII, Travail Agricole, Réformes Agraires).

The author condemns Bolshevism by Socialism. From this book it would appear that if a free election could be had upon the same basis as that on which the Constituent Assembly was elected—namely, universal, secret, equal, direct suffrage, the Bolsheviks would be overwhelmingly beaten, and that the great mass of the peasants would support candidates of the Socialist Revolutionary Party. The Bolsheviks have conciliated the peasantry somewhat, and the latter have in many cases sought to make the best of a bad situation. Many have adopted a passive attitude. But it is a great mistake to think the Bolsheviks have solved the land question or have won the allegiance of the peasants. (Questionnaire IX, Resultats Moraux).

Bolshevism : Mr. Keeling's five years in Russia. Book published in 1919.

This book is a general survey of Russia under Bolshevism, and a comparison of that and Russia in pre-Bolshevik days. Mr. Keeling is a working man,

and as such, worked among the Russian workmen, lived their life and served under the Bolsheviks. He is a Trades Unionist and a Socialist.

In the first part of the book there is little of interest, and descriptions of Russia are somewhat naive. The chief thing in the book is the insistence which Mr. Keeling uses in describing famine and starvation in Russia following the Bolsheviks' *coup d'etat*. Shops, tea-houses and restaurants, of which there are a large number in Petrograd, were in nearly all cases closed in December, 1918, and all the population, with the exception of Soviet Commissars and the Red Guards, looked sick and starving. The Bolsheviks inaugurated a system of rationing with food cards, and the population were divided into four categories which were (at the commencement) :—

- (i) All manual workmen and peasants.
- (ii) Those engaged in clerical work who did not have more than one employee.
- (iii) Employers with more than one employee.
- (iv) Those who lived on rent and interest.

The super categories to whom this division never applied were the Navy, the Army, the railway servants, whose strong organisation enabled them to exact terms from the Bolsheviks and the Commissar and his immediate friends.

Something might be said for the system if the lowest category could have secured sufficient food to enable them to live, but in a short time the fourth class disappeared altogether. (Questionnaire VI, Situation matérielle de la Classe Ouvrière, A, Ravitaillement).

The chief causes of the Bolshevik failure to feed the people are (i) The immediate closing of all privately-owned shops before efficient machinery and distributing centres and agencies were available or set up; (ii)

cessation of all private trading and (iii) putting a fixed price on the flour sold by the peasants to the Government. (This price was 17.50 roubles per pood, and the peasants were able to get from 175—700 roubles from starving people, and therefore preferred selling to them, although it was illicit selling).

Secondly, the peasants would not sell their flour to the Government because the Government money had no purchasing power or a very low one. They preferred to hide it away, and rather than disclose where it was some of them met death at the hands of the Red Guard sent to requisition flour. The peasants were willing to exchange flour for manufactured articles, agricultural and domestic implements, but the State-owned factories were producing nothing.

(Questionnaire VIII, Résultats matériels du Régime Bolchéviste).

Mr. Keeling lay distinct emphasis on the fact that the Allied blockade of Russia had nothing whatever to do with the starvation of Russia. It was entirely due to bad organisation of transport, bad management and bad feeling between the towns and the country. There was always plenty of food in the country, only it could not be obtained for the above-mentioned reasons.

Lunarcharsky is greatly praised for his work in the schools, and his attempts at feeding the school children.

The Trades Unions, of which there were legions, after the March Revolution, were formed from the books of regulations of German, English and American Unions. As Trade Unionism was very badly understood in Russia the fundamental principles of it were missed, and its chief aim is an increase of wages. The rules of the unions were always being changed, and all the rules were made without the slightest regard to local, especially local Russian, conditions. Sweeping rises in wages were made resulting in the fall of value of money and everything got correspondingly

dearer. Hours of work were reduced, a good thing in itself, but work was not intensified—on the contrary, all discipline relaxed, and most of the time was spent in endless argument. When the Bolsheviks came into power, the factories could barely have paid their way—afterwards it was impossible. The first blunder the Bolsheviks made with regard to the factories was to drive out of the factories all managers and specialists who would not declare themselves Bolsheviks. Their work was carried on by a Committee of amateurs in management and specialising work. The results were rising prices, establishment of a vicious circle, and a reduction in customers able to pay the high prices. The State had to subsidise the factories in order to meet the hugely increased wages' bills, and this was one of the causes of the prolific printing of paper money, and the drop in value of same.

If a Trade Union did not please the Bolsheviks it was suppressed and fined, and a new one was formed in its place consisting *only* of Bolsheviks. Workers were only allowed to join it on signing an agreement to fall in whole-heartedly with Bolshevik ideas. Refusal to join meant loss of work with exclusion from the first and second categories of rationing. The men were really forced by a threat of starvation to become members. Naturally, all such Unions became purely creatures of the Bolsheviks, having to sell their souls for food. Attempts at resistance, of which there were not a few, were treated as counter-revolutionary or reactionary and sternly, and, in many cases, bloodily suppressed. No Trade Union, as we recognise it in England, exists in Soviet Russia to-day, the nearest approach being the Union of Railwaymen, which on account of its strong organisation, the Bolsheviks have been unable to entirely master. (Questionnaire IV, *Liberté d'Association*, A et B.).

All buying and selling for the factories is centralised

and done through the Higher Soviet of National Economy (V.S.N.Kh.). The Red Guards are depicted as having unlimited license of requisition and conduct, and spies, crowds of them, are everywhere.

As to the feeling of the Nation it is entirely anti-Bolshevist, says Mr. Keeling :—" Even their own Commissars were often against them, and would show their hostility if there was a chance to do so. People were always contrasting the present times with the times of the Czar. I have personally heard Commissars doing so, yet these were the men who were getting all the privileges possible out of Bolshevism. . . . Among workmen, the very kind of men Bolshevism was supposed to benefit, there is nothing but hostility induced by the long-drawn-out struggle to get food, and the hopeless feeling of insecurity." (Questionnaire IX. Résultats moraux).

Programme des Communistes. (Programme of the Communists.) By N. BUKHARIN. Published by Promachos Verlag, 1918.

The author gives opinions not without value as to the mentality and methods of certain Bolshevik Chiefs.

Russia under the Bolsheviks. By DIONEIO (I. W. SHKLOVSKY). Russian Liberation Committee, London. 1919.

Pamphlet for anti-Bolshevik propaganda ; contains a few extracts from Russian newspapers on the Red terror.

Has little documentary value.

The Russian Riddle. By ZINOVY PREEV. London: John Bale, Sons and Daniellson, Ltd. 1918.

A pamphlet devoid of interest for the inquiry. It appeals to England to help reconstruct Russia economically. A few anti-Bolshevik statistics are quoted.

The Bolshevik Revolution: Its Rise and Meaning. By MAXIM LITVINOFF. Published by the British Socialist Party. London. 1919.

History of the origin of Bolshevism in Russia, written from the Bolshevik standpoint, with a chapter by Mrs. Ivy Litvinoff. This chapter is a defence of the Bolshevik régime, and an attack on the other socialist parties. It is without interest for the inquiry.

The Spirit of the Russian Revolution. By Dr. HAROLD WILLIAMS. London: Russian Liberation Committee. 1919.

Anti-Bolshevik pamphlet. Devoid of interest for the purposes of our inquiry, as it is mostly about Russia before Bolshevism.

Die Nächsten Aufgaben der Sowjet-Macht. By N. LENIN. Published by Promachos Verlag. 1918. (*First Duties of the Soviet Government*).

This pamphlet was also published in French by a review entitled "Demain" of Geneva. Several passages of this translation are incomprehensible, and the German edition is better and more correct. Chapter 12 of M. Etienne Buisson's book on the Bolsheviks is a résumé, and contains several quotations from this pamphlet.

La Russie Socialiste. (Socialist Russia.) The July Happenings, 1918. Geneva. Reggiani, printers. 1918.

Published by the Social-Revolutionaries of the Left wing, hostile to the Bolsheviks.

The same in German, same printers.

La Question Agraire en Russie. Par H. RÉMÉZOV. Lausanne. Edition des Peuples Libres. (*The Agrarian Question in Russia*).

A general description of the Agrarian question in Russia in 1918.

The author gives the history of the Agrarian question in Russia from the earliest historical period to the present day. He quotes and describes the different laws on the possession of land in Russia, in force at different epochs. He sketches the abolition of serfdom in 1861, and the division of land then made between the proprietors and the peasants. The communal system of the "mir" is also examined.

He appears to approve of the social-revolutionary programme which is in favour of the suppression of individual property, and which declares:—(1) the right of everyone to the land; (2) the common possession of land; (3) the administration of the Commune by the "mir." According to this author the great majority of Russian peasants belong to this party which has the largest vote for the Constitutional Assembly.

☞ The author terminates by proclaiming that it is only the latter body which can save Russia from ruin.

Von der Oktober Revolution bis zum Brester Friedensvertrag. By L. TROTSKY. Published by Promachos-Verlag, Bern. (*From the October Revolution to the Brest-Litowsk Treaty*).

This work has also appeared in French, and is an *exposé* of the internal and external political situation

at the beginning of the Bolshevik era. Trotsky tries to justify the Brest-Litowsk Treaty in the following terms :—

“ A lively discussion arose in the ranks of our party with regard to the conditions imposed by the German ultimatum, whether to accept them or sign a new Treaty which contains conditions incomparably harder than those which had been imposed upon us at Brest Litowsk.”

Lettre aux Ouvriers américains. By N. LENIN. (Letter to the American workmen.) 20th August, 1918, appeared in French in the newspaper “ L'Aube ” of Lausanne; also published in German by the Promachos Verlag, Bern).

An appeal to Americans to support the Russian Bolshevik Revolution.

Programme du Parti social-démocrate de Russie. (Programme of the Russian Social-Democratic Party.) Published by “ Demain ” of Geneva. 1918.

This programme is of historical interest, as the Bolshevik Party has become the Government Party, and has been able, for the past two and a half years, to put these theories into practice. Besides, these theories are contained in the constitution of the federal Soviet Republic.

Die Produktivität der Arbeit in Sowjet Russland. By A. LOMOW. (Übersetzung aus den Russischen) Herausgegeben von Dr. Minna Tobler-Christinger, Zurich. Verlag Freie Jugend. 1918. (Trans.: *The Productivity of Labour in Soviet Russia.* By A. LOMOV. (Translated from the Russian by Dr. Minna Tobler-Christinger).

Published in Russia in November, 1918, this work contains only figures of industrial statistics of produc-

tion for the first four months of 1918, *i.e.*, of the Bolshevik era. It can be seen that appreciable improvements were made from the months of March and April, 1918, whilst January was disastrously insufficient.

Lomov affirms—without, however, justifying his affirmation sufficiently—that the productivity of each workman in April, 1918, had returned to the same figure as in 1914, before the war. Lomov does not say what was the mentality of the great mass of workers, even though certain groups of Bolshevik workers were animated with a lively and sincere desire for work. It is hardly possible to form a definite judgment on the productivity of labour under the Bolshevik *régime* from some statistics covering four months only.

This document of Bolshevik origin is open to criticism. It is one where the psychological and political co-efficient must come in.

Arbeit, Disziplin und Ordnung werden die sozialistische Sowjet Republik retten. By L. TROTSKY. Basle: Librairie des Arbeiterbundes. 1918. (*Work, Discipline and Order will save Socialist Soviet Russia*).

This is a speech made on 28th March, 1918, at the municipal Conference of the Russian Communist Party of Moscow. We have here many of Lenin's ideas with regard to the present duties and necessities of the Soviet Republic. Trotsky examines very simply, because of his audience, the outlines of the organisation of the new *régime*, and gives a great deal of good advice and urgent recommendations. "Yesterday," says he, "the worker was nothing; to-day, after the revolution, he has become the centre of the world." And the same thing is true of the peasant. Under these new conditions, however, egotism is the guiding factor. Everybody thinks of himself and not of collective

welfare. "We must react against this individualistic tendency which endangers the life of the new *régime*." At the end Trotsky treats of the question of the army and its organisation. He declares himself opposed to the election of the chiefs and of the officers. However, this election was propagandised by the Bolsheviks under Kerensky, and was the principal cause of the downfall of the revolutionary army.

"As long as power was in the hands of your class enemies," says he, "and the higher command was used in the army against you we were obliged to break, by means of the election of officers, the resistance which the personnel of the higher command always opposed. The new political power is in the hands of the working classes from whom the army is recruited. Under the present *régime* of the army, and I say it categorically, the principle of the election of officers seems to me to have no political *raison d'être*. On the contrary, it is absolutely inimical to our present technical necessities. Besides it has been already suppressed by a decree. In the same way that the election system is not applied in the co-operatives or unions for the technical posts of book-keepers, cashiers, clerical staff, etc., so in the army you cannot choose your technicians. In the co-operatives and unions the members elected by you choose specialists, and in the army it will also be those elected by you who will choose specialists, that is to say, the officers. Trotsky affirms that the creation of a standing army is a question of life or death for the Soviet Republic.

Offener Brief an den Genossen Jean Longuet. By KHARITON CHAVICHVILY. Published by der Freie Verlag, Bern. (*An open letter to Comrade Jean Longuet*).

This is a judgment of Bolshevism according to the publication of the Russian Social Democrat Press and is very declamatory in style. It has also appeared in French.

Seid verflucht, Ihr, Bolschewiki! By V. L. BURZEW.
Published by Der Freie Verlag, Bern. (*Be ye
accursed, Bolsheviks !*)

This is a violent diatribe against Bolsheviks and contains no documents of any value.

Le Bolchévisme à l'œuvre. By H. CROISIER. Published by the "Tribune," Genoa. 1918. (*Bolshevism at Work*).

This is a series of impressions of a Russian eye-witness. The documents quoted in this book are not official, and the book contains merely memoirs and records of personal experiences.

Brest-Litovsk, Lenin-Trotsky und Hindenberg-Ludendorff. By S. GRUMBACH. Published by Payot et Compagnie, Paris. Lausanne. 1918.

This is a speech by Grumbach on the Brest-Litovsk Treaty, and is well documented and contains items of undoubted historical interest.

La situation internationale et la politique extérieure du pouvoir des Soviets. (The International situation and the Foreign policy of the Soviet Power.) By KARL RADEK, Geneva. Imprimerie des Unions ouvrières. 1918.

This pamphlet also appeared in German, and is a speech pronounced about two years ago by the Galician propagandist Radek. It is of some historical interest.

Krieg und Revolution, Schriften und Aufsätze aus der Kriegszeit. By LENIN und TROZKY. Published by Grütli. Zürich. 1918. (*War and Revolution, Writings and Conferences of Wartime.*)

These documents were written before the return of the two Bolsheviki Chiefs to Russia, to give their ideas previous to the Bolshevik Revolution.

Die Sowjet-Macht und der internationale Imperialismus. By L. TROZKY. Belp-Bern, Promachus Verlag. 1918. (*The Power of the Soviets and International Imperialism.*)

Propaganda pamphlet in which the Bolshevist chief talks on practically everything. It was pronounced as a speech in April, 1918, and is an interesting historical document. He does not answer any of the questions contained in the Questionnaire. Besides, it refers to the very early period of Bolshevism in Russia.

Bolschewismus. By EMILE LAVATER. A. Vogel. Wintherthur. 1919.

This is a pamphlet of 32 pages and is the account of an eye-witness. He tells of the material life, food, dwellings, labour, and other things in Russia, and stories which are in agreement with those of other witnesses of the "bourgeois" class who have suffered from the new *régime*. It states that from May to November, 1918, a daily paper entitled "Die russischen Nachrichten" ("Russian News") appeared in Switzerland, giving the news of Russia in a very partial light; for example, No. 126 announces that in July, furnaces of Soviet Russia produced 612,000 poods of pig iron; these figures, however, only represent a tenth part,

according to Lavater, of the Russian produce in November, 1917. No. 132 announces the arrival in Moscow of 26 waggon loads of rye which represents only 2 kilograms per workman.

Le Phare. Published at Chaux de Fonds by J. Humbert-Droz.

Is a Bolshevik propaganda review ; contains numerous documents on Communist Russia.

These documents are more or less reliable, for they are taken from purely Bolshevik sources without any criticism of facts or figures given.

Many of these articles lack precision and detail. They allude to decrees or laws of which we do not know the exact tenor.

With these reserves, the "Phare" is interesting for the enquiry.

Que font les Bolchéviks ? (What are the Bolsheviks doing?) By WINTSCH-MALÉEFF, NATHALIE. Jules Ferdmann.

This pamphlet was published by the League for the Regeneration of Russia, in 1919. It is naturally anti-Bolshevik and contains details of the conditions of life under the new *régime*.

Les Bolchéviks au pouvoir. (Bolsheviks in power.) By I. WEISS. Published by Rémézov. Lausanne. 1919.

An account by an eye-witness, Mr. Weiss, ex-officer of the Russian service, who tells what he saw of the Bolshevik *régime*.

L'organisation judiciaire de la République des Soviets.

By A. SCHREIDER. (The Judicial Organisation of the Soviet Republic.) Published by Reggiani. Geneva. 1918.

Study of the judicial organisation of the Soviet Republic by an old left Social-Revolutionary.

Der Kampf um das Bröt. By N. LENIN. Published by Promachos Verlag. Bern. 1918.

A long propagandist speech pronounced by Lenin in Moscow on the bread question, which was urgent at the beginning of the Bolshevik period.

La tâche des représentants de la Gauche de Zimmerwald dans le Parti Socialiste Suisse. (The Task of the Representatives of the Zimmerwald Left Wing in the Swiss Socialist Party.)

By N. LENIN. Published by the Imprimerie des Unions Ouvrières. Geneva. 1919.

Advice given by Lenin to the Swiss Zimmerwaldians before his departure for Russia.

Les Socialistes Révolutionnaires de Gauche. (The Left Social-Revolutionaries.) By B. KAMKOW.

Published by Reggiani. Geneva. 1918.

A study of left Social Revolutionaries and the differences between them and Bolsheviks. This pamphlet has been also published in German by the same publisher.

Les extravagances bolchéviques et l'épopée arménienne.
By HENRY BARBY. Albin Michel. Paris. (Undated.) (*The Bolshevik Extravagances and the Armenian Epic.*)

A history of the mutual relations between the Bolsheviks and the Armenians. Contains no documents and has no interest for the enquiry.

Les Bolchéviks à l'Œuvre. By A. LOKERMAN, with Preface by Vladimir Zenzinoff, Member of the Central Committee of the Russian Social-Revolutionary Party. Librairie des Sciences Politiques et Sociales. Marcel Rivière. Paris. 1920. (Trans. *The Bolsheviks at Work.*)

Account of the events which took place during the Bolshevik occupation of the Cossack country and South Russia. Contains very little of interest for the enquiry. Anti-Bolshevik.

Capitalist Europe and Socialist Russia. By M. PHILIPS PRICE. Published by the British Socialist Party. 1919.

Gives particulars of Russia under Tsardom and shows how and why revolution was inevitable. Russia under the Kerensky Government is then dealt with and the impossibility of the Kerensky Government to deal adequately with the situation is shown. This book pretends to show how the workers were forced to the utmost extremities by the upper class action. Workers' control and banks nationalisation is dealt with, followed by the repudiation of foreign debt. The establishment of the Supreme Council of Public Economy is described and spoken of highly. Other questions are dealt with such as the Land Settlement, and throughout the book, the author shows Bolshevik intentions and works in a most roseate hue.

Journal d'une Comédienne française sous la Terreur bolchévique. By PAULETTE PAX. L'Edition. Paris. 1919. (*Diary of a French Comédienne under the Bolshevik Terror.*)

This book is—as its title indicates—only a diary and contains nothing of interest for the enquiry.

Imprisonment under the Bolshevik Terror. By LUDOVIC NAUDEAU. Librairie Hachette. Paris. 1920.

An account of the imprisonment and the liberation of Mr. Naudeau, correspondent of the "Temps" in Russia. Only Chapter IX is of any real interest to our inquiry.

In this chapter Mr. Naudeau speaks of Moscow at the beginning of 1919. He describes the aspect of the town, shows the state of things existing there at that time, and blames socialisation and the dictatorship of the proletariat for them. On p. 217, he mentions the obligation imposed on all people under 45 to clean the streets, while the unemployed are paid for doing nothing. According to Naudeau, all the evils that came to pass were the results of the Bolshevik reign.

Le Droit du Peuple. (The People's Rights.) Socialist Daily, published in Lausanne. Organ of the Romance Socialist Party, Director, H. Naine.

Whilst sympathetic towards the Russian Communist Revolution, this paper criticises it from time to time.

Ein Diplomatischer Notenwechsel über den weissen und roten Terror. Die Note des Schweizer Gesandten Ed. Odier und die Antwort des Volks-Kommissars der Auswärtigen Angelegenheiten, Tchitcherin. 1918. (Trans.: *An exchange of diplomatic Notes on the White and Red Terrors.* Note from the Swiss Ambassador, Ed. Odier, and the answer of the Commissary for Foreign Affairs, Tchitcherin.)

On 5 September, 1918, M. Odier, Dean of the Diplomatic Corps in Russia, sent to Tchitcherin a letter of protest against the acts of violence and of terror committed by the Soviet Government or in its name.

The Commissary for Foreign Affairs sent a long answer to this letter. "The letter of M. Odier," said he, "constitutes a gross intervention in the internal affairs of the Russian people. The protest is not raised against some abuses of power, but against the Soviet *régime* as a whole, which the workers and peasants have organised in their struggle against exploiters of all sorts." He then recalls all the horrors resulting from the war in all countries, and is astonished that the Diplomatic Corps did not then make any protest, whilst they protest against what is happening in Bolshevik Russia. The neutrals did not say anything against the Czarist *régime*. In reality now they are only trying to save the counter-revolutionary clique of exploiters and proprietors. "Violence is employed in Russia only in the name of the sacred cause of the liberation of the popular masses. Every attempt of the representatives of the neutral capitalistic powers to pass the limits of legal protection of their own subjects will be considered as an attempt to support the Russian counter-revolution."

A Collection of Reports on Bolshevism in Russia. H.M. Stationery Office. 1919.

Pages 1—15 contain accounts of treatment of Allied Diplomatic Servants and Allied Subjects by the Bolsheviks, and reports on the fate of the ex-Imperial family.

Several general accounts of the results of Bolshevism on industry then follows. A criticism of the various trades and industries show in almost every case a huge decrease in production, and a state of things which goes from bad to worse.

Pages 26—30 deal mostly with Bolshevik treatment of anti-Bolsheviks, real and so-called.

Pages 30—40 contain material somewhat similar. The villages, the Red Army, workmen, bourgeoisie, food, etc. All form subjects of articles on pp. 43—48.

Pages 50—70 contain accounts of Bolshevik atrocities.

The remainder of the book gives further particulars on the same subject.

All these reports are from people who have been in Russia under the Bolshevik *régime*. Great emphasis is laid on Bolshevik Terrorism and Atrocities. All the articles are slightly anti-Bolshevik. Some statistics are given (pp. 84—96) under the headings:—(1) Bolshevik Financial Methods; (4) Nationalisation of Industry; (5) Mining; (6) Agriculture; (7) Transport. The collection as a whole gives a most dreadful picture of Bolshevism.

Memorandum on Certain Aspects of the Bolshevik Movement in Russia. Government Printing Office. Washington. 1919.

This work is divided into three parts and appendices.

Part I.—“Character of Bolshevik Rule” describes the various branches of Bolshevik rule.

Part II.—“Economic Results of Bolshevik Control” deals with, among other things, the issue of paper, mines, disorganisation of administrative policy, industrial collapse and breakdown in transportation.

Part III.—“Bolshevik Program of World-Revolution” speaks for itself.

All statements are based chiefly on translations from Bolshevik papers. The Appendix contains the full text of representative Bolshevik documents.

Open Letter to the Workers and Peasants on the Victory over Kolchak. By V. J. LENINE. Government Publication. Moscow. 1919.

Consists of five parts with a Preface.

Part I is an appeal to the workers and peasants to support, help and obey the Red Army which is Bolshevik Russia's one hope of combating reactionaries and capitalists.

Part II is an exhortation to the peasants to sell their superfluous corn to the Government, and not privately, and thus help the State in its fight against capitalism.

The working classes are asked to obey all the laws of the Soviet Government in an implicit manner in the third part.

In Part IV Lenin accuses the Mensheviki (Social-Democrats), and the Social-Revolutionaries of aiding and abetting Kolchak and Denikin who are fighting to re-establish the ascendancy in Russia of Capitalism over Socialism.

There must either be a dictatorship of land-owners and capitalists or one of the proletariat, says Lenin in Part V—the latter is the only true friend of the masses.

